

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1951

General correspondence incl. Montreal & Windsor, ON

- 01_04 **Document: *RWP Discussion Bulletin*, incl. by R.D. “An explanation”** (on the J. Rose and K. Andrews document “Should we support the UE”); on the CCL-CIO vs. the (Stalinist-dominated) United Electrical Workers union; our line is not Stalinophobic but neutral in this inter-bureaucratic struggle; the UE has been expelled from the mainstream of the Canadian labor movement, we choose to remain in it
- 01_11 Letter to Grenier (J-M Bédard) & Fitz (Murray D.)(Montreal), re: walkout by Jim & Kit after reading a letter to the branch; expecting your report on the purpose and powers of a (control) commission
- 01_20 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, re: the evolving nature of the Catxtlic syndicates; attempts to link with Yugoslav dissidents; Montreal branch matters
- 01_23 Letter to the Windsor ON branch, re: their first class a success; future class topics; covering the Lenin Memorial meeting
- 02_02 Letter to Ruth (Benson, SWP, New York), re: substantial civic election vote won; on *Labor Challenge* layout; the Rose attacks on the RWP “bureaucracy”
- 02_21 Letter to the Windsor comrades, re: on printing their class leaflet; Don (D.’s) queries about the *LC* article on the unemployed union; progress with the class series; RD’s critique of our branch radio script not thought out very well
- 02_21B Letter to J-M Bédard & Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: Rose’s attack on bureaucracy in the RWP (R. Dowson) and publication of his document as well as on the UE dispute
- 02_22 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: a note on the Rose attack on Ross
- 03_01 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: upcoming LC deadline; need articles, BC CCF developments; opinions on Rose and the UE?
- 03_07 Letter to J-M Bédard & F(itz, Murray Dowson), re: shifting next LC to coverage of BC CCF convention as left moves out
- 03_21 Letter to Murray and Jean, re: our big LC play on BC CCF; a tough line against Quebec CPer Walsh; translations; Barry Brent’s effective document against Rose
- 03_22 Letter to Don (D?), Windsor, re: demanding a retraction from the *Tribune* (Stalinist) slander; flooding CCF convention in BC with latest *LC*

- 03_23 Letter to Don (D.?), re: his conflict with Hugh over a small matter
- 03_30 Letter to the Windsor comrades, re: welcoming your comments on Labor Challenge; the Windsor class series; the Stalinist opposition to the unemployed union; trade union matters
- 03_99 Undated letter fragment found in March, to J-M Bédard, re: the Pierre Frank pamphlet on the history of Trotskyism
- 04_02 Letter to Jean and Murray, Montreal, re: any Montreal articles?
- 04_26 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: lining up a union job for a contact; Montreal branch affairs; response to the latest (April) bulletin?
- 04_99 ***Document: RWP Internal Bulletin with entries by Rose; RD on "A further note on the discussion;"*** (on Rose's factional method of argument and conduct in the branch); ***RWP "Convention Call"***
- 05_10 Letter to the Windsor branch, re: advice not to leaflet CCF or CPP social events; our hot reception at a Toronto peace rally where we managed to speak
- 05_16 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: both RD and Barry taking on part-time jobs; the Stalinist-dominated Peace Congress; Ross threatened but is allowed to speak but not Barry as we leafleted the hall; booed on Yugoslavia; LC subs and admin
- 05_16B Letter to J-M Bédard, re: reaching out to the Montreal Yugoslavs
- 06_07 Letter to Warde (George Novack), SWP, New York, re: Canadian Yugoslav dissident journalist now in New York
- 06_23 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: the problem of the two Dons (D. and B.) as comrades and unionists; a query about Hugh's situation there vs. moving back to Toronto
- 07_03 Letter to Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: would he like to join the American expedition to Yugoslavia?
- 07_05 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: funds for IS (FI) appeal?
- 07_07 Letter to Windsor branch, re: the project of a Canadian Youth Labor brigade to Yugoslavia; possibly we could send a comrade
- 07_21 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: his sending clippings on Yugoslavia and the Korean war; a resolution from Vancouver re postponing the (RWP) convention; little success contacting Yugoslavs

07_29 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: situation in the Toronto branch touch and go as Rose's resolution only just defeated

08_01 Letter to Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: his series (on the Catholic church) getting a good response

08_16 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: a heavy mailing of LC to CCF left following right swing of leadership; the LPP and its NFLY front; notes on the IWA in Quebec, security concerns

09_05 Letter to Murray Dowson and J-M Bédard, re: Murray's next instalment on the Catholic church and other LC articles; a left caucus appearing in the BC CCF; Murray should go on a tour to BC

09_21 Letter to the Windsor Branch, re: CCF and Yugoslav contact work; a woman militant ready to join; Trotsky's suggested line-up for talks on the four internationals; the Windsor Branch established

09_22 Letter to a Henry M., Windsor, re: his erroneous letter on the nature of the Catholic church

10_01 Letter to J-M Bédard and Murray Dowson, Montreal, re: the rehash and errors of Rose's latest bulletin on the unions; critical remarks on J-M's article on the history of the FI;

10_03 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: minutes of first branch meeting received; should we invite Detroit SWP comrades to attend to help recruiting

10_17 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: what is state of nationalist and antiwar sentiment in Quebec? The low CCF vote; an RWP statement on the Korean war; the centre's bad finances; our expulsion from NFLY

10_17B Letter to the Windsor branch, re: a critique of their Labor speakers script; PAC work and the scandal of Reaume's endorsement; a Toronto civic election campaign; Toronto classes and SWP visitors

10_27 Letter to the Windsor Branch of the RWP, re: need to avoid a serious error in supporting "friend of labor" Reaume

10_27B Letter to Don (B.), Windsor, re: need to overcome Don (D.)'s support of Reaume; his making a pledge to the fund drive

10_28 Letter to J-M Bédard, Montreal, re: his first instalment on the history of the FI

11_15 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: his arrest in Packinghouse strike action; Don (D.)'s apparent withdrawal of resignation threat

- 11_30 Letter to J-M Bédard and Murray Dowson (Fitz), re: Rose's latest proposals re branch voting on union matters; time for action against the f(r)action has come
- 12_06 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: need his translation of the IS (FI) Yugoslav letter; go ahead with the control commission over the holidays
- 12_15 Letter to J-M Bédard and Murray (Fitz), re: reporting the BC reaction to the Rose faction for the consideration of the control commission; Rose's politics re the CCF and the IUE-UE dispute and his assessment of working class consciousness; a detailed analysis
- 12_24 Letter to J-M Bédard, re: the translation of the IS (FI) Yugoslav letter; the operation of the control commission to hear charges against Rose
- 12_26 Letter to Murray Dowson (Fitz) and J-M Bédard (Grenier), re: Rose's latest two letter to the NC and to the IS (FI); Barry's blowup against Rose in the branch
- 12_28 Letter to G and F (J-M Bédard and Murray), re: their reply to Rose from the control commission, Rose's further motions to the branch
- 12_99 Undated letter fragment (page 2) found in 1950, to Murray Dowson in Montreal, re: the factional attitude of Rose towards leading Toronto comrades; his sectarian attacks against the CCF and trade union leadership

Tuesday Jan 16, 1951 ✓

Dunham *- M. Bedard*
Dear Murray and Jean;

Got thinking the situation here over a bit more and came to the conclusion that I should drop you another line. Unfortunately since the carbon was turned in the last letter I sent you I ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ do not know just what was said between us.

Kate was down here on Saturday to pick up some books and to pay a bill. I decided to say nothing to her about their action of the previous Wednesday so I was quite friendly and we returned the compliment...nothing at all was said about their self imposed suspension. Yesterday Davie phoned me to pass on an interesting experience. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ She was quite friendly and I asked her to drop in on the office today--she is now working. I gather she will be doing so.

Despite the monstrous character of the letter that three of them signed and the stupid action of Davie--joining a minority because she does not understand what a control commission is and has a feeling of sympathy for the prosecuted Joe-- I feel that it is just possible that they do not know what they are doing. I am rather reserved in this opinion in so far as Kate and Jim are concerned after hearing about the discussion they had with Barry and Ken and their receptivity to their arguments. ...and then seeing the letter they oked. Of course the letter is Joe's work and he really put the heat on them to come across and back him up. But they came across after the discussion with Ken and Barry which I gather emphasized loyalty to the party. Of course Joe is desperate and must have really put the heat on them.

Now I don't think their loss is anything really serious to the working of the branch...as a matter of fact these last episodes only back up all ideas along this line...very weak comrades. But then again we don't want to lose anyone if we have any reason to believe that there is anything at all good in their make up--if they can be useful in anyway to the movement.

I don't know what you two have planned or even may have done but I would suggest you consider this. Send a letter to each of the three of them telling them in a friendly, educational but firm way that they must return to the branch, again explaining to them what the control commission is and how it was they and mainly Joe who prohibited the commission from doing its originally rounded task, investigate the situation, by refusing to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ answer the Branch executive charges and the authority of the commission. And if they don't return to the branch the control commission will be compelled to expel them, reluctantly of course.

The letter should be sent to the individuals so that they have a chance to read them over and think the question out for themselves free from Joe's pressure. You could send them on to me and I could pass them out.

Then I think a letter should be sent to Joe. Telling him how his refusal to recognize the commission left you no alternative but to consider he sustained the charges of the Branch executive. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ His case of course will be up for review at the coming National convention but now you have received this letter from the rest of the minority and the question of his personal case has been made a factional issue. He has been charged with disloyalty, he has sustained the charge by his conduct at the control commission and he is now confronted with the question of his loyalty again. He is a member of the minority and its recognized spokesman. Since he is only suspended by a demand of him that immediately write a letter to the members of the minority repudiating this letter and the action that has been taken by the rest of the minority group, their walking out of the Toronto branch. Of course I am 99.99999 per cent convinced that he will not only refuse to do so but will re-affirm the letter which is really his. In this case he will be only condemning himself the more and will write finish to his case.

The main thing is to give everyone who is not in the Toronto branch complete confidence that everything humanly possible was done...even more than that was done.

I don't see why we should not write such a demand to Joe ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ an appeal to his loyalty although we have handed down a verdict on this question--after all he is only suspended. At anyrate it is a good tactic. And again despite the letter there is no reason why we shouldn't make one last stab to cut these woefully weak comrades off from Joe and his poisonous influences....even if we can't get them back in it would be a good thing. I get the feeling that they are considering setting up some kind of study outfit and inviting outsiders to it---a disloyal act. Just before Wednesday meeting Kate phoned me twice for names and addresses from the Stalinist list she turned over. And there are a couple of lines in their letter that sustain this feeling. Joyce and Joe went down to the Ginger group on Sunday. You see they do not consider that they have thrown in the sponge...perhaps so with the RWP but not with Trotskyism. I am convinced that they will find themselves incapable of doing anything but it would be good if we can convince them they shouldn't even bother to try. If they try and fail they will no doubt be totally lost---and there is still the slim possibility that they can be brought up to a halt in their present course.

At anyrate even if we are convinced that there is nothing there, and to a considerable degree I feel that it is good riddance and am convinced of this in Joe's case it is worth while to go through this experience for the complete satis-

faction of the entire party. As you know organizational moves are always suspect in the movement and Joe has done his very best to make this appear to be a political persecution --and unfortunately has got the support of four names.

Quite a devastating letter that the three signed eh !
A fitting appendix to your report on the commission.

Doesn't look good for this issue of the paper as things are going...as a matter of fact it looks like it is going to be the latest y t. After you left had a long visit from a Ukrainian comrade from Crowland and several other interferences. Will do well to get this issue off the press by the 22nd. Spent all last evening going over with Ken for about the third time his latest contribution to the paper. An awful time taker but I suppose it is a necessary and worthwhile task to see what can be done here.

Received your notes Jean and will reply after the paper is out.

comradely

Ross

January 24, 1951

Dear Murray;

Received your letter this morning and since the paper is now cleared away am taking time out to answer it now. The paper was not held up so much by the street car strike. Of course I had to walk home every night practically. I stayed down for supper. Paddy and I and Ken cooked our meals out of tin cans. The big hold up on the paper ~~ix~~ was George. He was in here for three days and of course I took ~~the~~ advantage of the time to talk things over with him. He was really sorry that you did not come in. I just did not happen to think of letting you know that he was coming and anyway I would not have thought that he would have as much time as he had or that you were not working. He was very anxious to have a talk with you about party work. He said he would let me know if he can arrange to come up again on the way back.

He and the IS were very much pleased with our political resolution although he thinks we are not pushing it enough. At the branch meeting of allowing his report on the world gathering he really tangled with Bill and Joyce. Bill put all the classic arguments up such as we don't build reformist movements etc etc and George tore him to bits. I might say that George completely affirmed all my opinions of the convention. He said that he is most strenuously opposed to the changes in the document. If anything the changes that he thought should be made are those that hold out a little bit to the idea that we have any possibility of growth at all as an independent party. He thinks we should stop holding Toronto forums under the RWP name and he quizzed me about Vancouver having these debates with the SP and debates against Rod Young. He is going to be in Seattle shortly....and he is prepared to spend considerable time with those Vancouver comrades that get down. But we can save all the details of this for when you arrive.

I am very sorry to hear that you are having difficulty cleaning up your affairs. Really very sorry for it is essential that you get here as soon as possible, I don't mean that it would be nice so that you can handle the forum that the Toronto branch has arranged for you to give on February the 10th. That can easily be given by me or some other arrangement be made. You see the party has no leadership now and in the interests of the party it is not proper that I be left in this position. I don't feel that you have given much thought to what has happened since the convention and the tour.

It is not an accident that two comrades Jim and Joe address their first letters for months to you. Reg is a lengthy posturing letter giving a psychological interpretation of the problem in the Toronto branch emphasized several times that both you and Barry completely revised your opinions of the whole past period. A very pedantic letter which he suggests that I might read to the Toronto branch as if the Toronto branch hasn't been stewing for years ~~that~~ in that crap method of attempting to solve its problem. As for me sensitive to all my grievous faults intend to force it on a political plane—and it is of course there when you yourself said that the organizational proposals put defended by Joe were anti-Bolshevik—and was crystal clear to George on the discussion in the CCF.

Of course I know that there is a considerable financial problem and it may well be that you will be unable to see your way clear until the Spring but this move must be carried out just as soon as possible. I am sorry that we don't have the money to send it down to you at once. What I mean is that I don't think we should have the perspective that the stay can be let drag a day over the necessary. As for the housing question. I do not know if Mrs D intends to change the house over. The rest of us agreed to say nothing about this problem until she is in better health as it will be a source of worry for her. As it is now you and Jeanette could take over the top floor. Jerry and I could move down to the dining room made over to a bed-room. Lois room is empty now.

January 24, 1954 ✓

Windsor

Dear Hugh; *Drew*

Sorry to be so long in dropping you a line. What with all the visitors we have been having the past while and the last issue of the paper havent had much time on my hands. Joe Pastuch was in from Welland, Jean has been in a couple of times and several other persons....and then there was of ~~KA~~ course the aftermath of the central commission's hearings. I suppose you have had several occasions to talk to Don and he gave you the general line up now. As a matter of fact I talked ~~XXX~~ several matters that I want to raise here over with Don when he was here.

One of them is to do with the situation as regards your staying in Windsor or not. Murray Jean and I had several lengthy talks about the Montreal situation. We have come to the conclusion that we havent any real perspective of work in Montreal in the next period. A propaganda group has to have some liberty to pick up contacts, to distribute its press, to act openly so that it can break out of its own little closed circle. That is just what we cannot do in Montreal. Of course we talked it over in the light of the situation here in Toronto which is key of course to the future development of the party. During those discussions we came to a general understanding that it would be best for us to pull Murray out of Montreal where due to circumstances beyond his control he is pretty much just vegetating and we came to the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ same general understanding about Jean also. Jean coming inot the center here, probably getting a job and working on the paper in his spare time or my getting a job and he working full time. Definite decisions on such a move of course were going to be made at the convention. Of course Murray and Jean are familiar with the situation in Windsor. Murray raises the idea of his going to Windsor to work... he should be able to get a job there easily, he has had very good trade union experience most of it in the UAW too. As you know he is the kind of comrade we need there most of all. Since that discussion Jean has been asked by his union to pull out of Montreal and put someone else in his place. It seems the Eastern office here in Toronto is badly in need of an experienced person and they want him. This fitting into our general scheme we have generally oked it. Jean will of course be going to Montreal quite often and will be able to maintain his contact there---this of course is rather important as ~~XXXX~~ Quebec is the place where Jean is going to have to work...he is the only genuine working class leader the FR. Cdns have thrown up yet and we have a great future there with him.

Well whatever the next few months will bring as you can see it is best that you do not make any definite plans or generally pass it around that you are pulling out. We will need to think the matter over more thoroughly. It would seem probable that Murray will go to Windsor some time after the convention. If he goes it is of course best that we preserve whatever we have for him to start off work on. I gather you have considerable reservations about leaving Windsor in so far as possibilities of work are concerned..it ~~XX~~ has most to do with the fact that the other comrades are not oriented to the work of building the branch we must have. Well with Murray there the ~~XXXX~~ whole picture will change. As a matter of fact in this light I raised the

matter of

Ed has just gone to the post office to mail you the last F.I., several Miltatns an Internal Bulletin and a few pamphlets. I think the three that I enclosed will be sufficient for you to chose from after you talk to this contact of Ken's. As it looks like ~~maxxxxx~~ you are going to be compelled to stay there a while regardless of our wishes perhpas I should send you a list again of those four or five guys that ook out subs a month or so before you left for the tour. Yes send in the Outlooks...we may be able to sell them...at anyrate they are better here than there

Yes it would be very good if you can get that contribution to the party builder in shorlty...I am pushing Ken to finish one he has started on the Ont CCF election and our work and what we see ahead. Will see what we can cook up for you to write for the next issue.

best regards

Ross

What do you hear from Vancouver? It would be very good if you can take up a correspondence. I have asked them to have the secretary send us a copy of their minutes. I dont get much just bits and ~~snatch~~ snatches. I gather they are having another debate with the SP and that Reg is not entering the CCF for some very good reasons which I do not know the nature of.

question of him staying there with Don again. ,,,but I gather he is really anxious to go back to Vancouver so did not press it. Prior to this discussion with Murray and Jean I had been on the verge of writing a letter to Don and Don posing with them the urgency of their coming to Toronto. However I think we will leave this whole matter.

We haven't decided the definite date of the convention and even after that if we definitely decide on Murays move it would be a while before he arrived to get a job ~~MAN~~. As you know it is probable that the convention will be rather poorly represented by the West so we also discussed the advisability of someone making a tour. We haven't had one since 1948, and a lot more could be done than just hit Vancouver etc. We could do sub work and considerable contact work on the way. Murray has a car now and he said he would like to make the trip which will certainly cement relations in the party. I have suggested that Barry take off a month or so and go with him...he is a top sub getter, if a good street-corner speaker and the two of them could do a barnstorming job. There is also the possibility that we can use the trip to other good effect. One of our leading Br. Labor Party comrades has raised the idea of him coming over for a month or so. They have contact with the B.C. CCF Left and as a matter of fact he has an official invitation from them ...I think they are even raising a little money. He will be just fresh from the PI congress and we can get a first hand report of this together with a great deal of valuable information on how to work on the inside of a reformist party such as the CCF-British Labor Party. Murray on tour could take him along discreetly dropping him wherever he had to make CCF contact. Incidentally don't tell anyone about this latter event...the comrade will be Jerry Healy. You can appreciate it how harmful it would be for all our work to have him identified with ~~NAME~~ us.

What is new on Speal's caucus...is it still holding up and does it have a future

I notice you promised in one of your letters to send me a list of how the receipts should be made out for those who kicked into the financial drive. It is getting a little late.

What were the repercussions on the Reaume victory among the boys in the unions. Have we been able to make any political capital out of the goddamn scandal to explain the need for principled working class politics. Of course the CCF's link up and siding along with that crook Reaume have made it more difficult but I thought there might be some avenues. For instance if Brophy challenges him for an election we must push for the running of a UAW candidate no support for Reaume.

No doubt you are anxious to know what gives here with regards to our "minority." I don't think they know or have the slightest idea of what it is all about. Kate came down the the office the next Saturday to buy some books...was very warm and friendly but did not say a word...you would never think anything happened. Jim came down last Saturday and shot the shit for about two hours without saying anything about the branch situation until just before it seemed obvious he was leaving I asked him what they intended to do. He then told me that he had been instructed to tell me that they were willing to mail the paper and distribute it if we sent them a letter requesting so. I then asked him what they intended to do. It seems they think that there is going to be a big investigation at the convention and they are giving the party one more, this one more chance to show that it has anything in it for the revolution. He was taken aback when I told him that it was probable that the convention would just ok the control commission report, particularly as soon as the membership read

their side

their shocking letter to the N.C. and heard all the details about their rejection of the authority of the control commission. I told him that if they expected the party to do anything about Joe then it would seem obvious to me that they had better place themselves in it as loyal members. It was obvious to me that they had not thought the thing through at all. This is pure speculation of course but it seems to me that Joe pulled them in order to try and cover up with a semblance of politics of some kind his criminal role in the Toronto branch over the past two years as revealed at the control commission ~~session~~ session. My own personal impression is that Joe is washed up, his interest in the house they are buying is truly phenomenal, and perhaps we should not totally discount the danger of the approaching war. At anyrate ~~well~~ aside from these personal asides it is obvious they have not really seriously thought the thing through. To a large part Jim explained the action, to their rejection of the Toronto branch and its personal as having anything for the revolution---the party elsewhere a question mark. This is rather amusing that they should reject Toronto comrades when you consider what they are... Jimmy particularly... with his stinking record... so stinking that we took him in only after a 6 months probation and ~~and~~ of the comrades felt uneasy even at that. For a while I thought that they might try to build a group around them. Katy finally just the week before their walking out took an interest in the NPL contacts they had and asked me for several names and addresses off the list she turned in. However Barry and Ken took on two of these contacts and we gather they had done nothing on them. Jimmy talked as if they were seriously contemplating setting up some kind of study group but when I told him such an action, their bringing party contacts to affairs arranged by anything other than the party was inadmissible for those who considered themselves merely suspended he side stepped.

The Control Commission has just send them letters telling them that they must return at once and ordering Joe to use his influence to instruct them to do so. Hard to say what will come of it, I myself believe we can write them off. We grafted them onto the party but the party was not able to assimilate them, very immature backward types actually. As for the rest of the gang, while small, morale is very good, we can now intelligently discuss party problems, we have now an atmosphere which makes it possible for us to grow. One of the comrades commenting on the so-called minority's defection likened it to a good healthy shit. Being considerably smaller makes it a little more difficult to bring workers to us but we had not the slightest hope of holding anyone even if we brought them to us as things were. As far as recruiting is concerned the so-called minority was pretty much a dead loss. They never did recruit anyone except for that fellow that Joe brought around who was no more party material than fly, and it is doubtful if they ever would. We are opening up a contact drive, and we have a considerable number. We are going to concentrate on Doug's friends so on the whole things look very good. We are starting a series of classes on the Soviet Union to which we expect we can bring several people.

Got a long report today on Vancouver but I had better close off as I have let a lot of mail pile up that must be answered within the next few days

How's the car.

comradely

Ross

January 26, 1951 ✓

Dear Grenier;

(J-M Bedard)

Just a line for now.

What do you think of the idea of sending copies of the last issue of the paper to all the names and addresses of the persons you sent La Verite to? I think it is a good issue for them (no doubt they all can read English) and it would be good to try them out for subs.

If you agree, would you send me the list at once. If I don't get it say by Tuesday I will mail them out to CCF names and addresses we have, knowing that you don't think it to be worth while

Tell Fitz that I received the letters alright and think them fine. The only doubt at all in my mind is where he says "is prepared to deal leniently....orders you to repudiate your past action in withdrawing from the Branch." I know of course this is said as it should be but I know just what reaction will come from it. Had a talk with Jim last Saturday---he just doesn't know what the Bolshevik party is. It is amusing when you come to think of the record of just who is saying it but he has completely disposed of the Toronto branch except for myself. Loyalty to the party.... they openly reject that conception...they claim to be loyal only to the ideas of Trotskyism of which the party is certainly not one...in their mind. Mailed the letter to Jim and Kit yesterday so they would get it and have a chance to talk it over before Joe and Joyce got theirs. I mailed theirs tonight. Tonight I had a call from Davy and arranged to meet her and give her her letter. I started to talk to her about her not coming around to the party, her not even telling me her intentions but sending just a letter. She told me that she had made up her mind not to talk to me about politics before she met me and just tore herself away. Which only goes to show that we never had a chance to even make an attempt to assimilate them before Joe got to work on them and totally disoriented them. And which only shows to go you that those few lines will only in all probability get a big hee-haw.

Of course their reaction to those lines will only be incidental. Just as with Joe nothing we did or said was taken at its face value, everything had some evil bureaucratic non-Trotskyist intent... so I believe with them.

Will let you know when we first get a word from them

comradely

Ross
Ross

The rest of the comrades in Toronto have a high morale — now we can at least talk over our real problems.

January 29, 1951

Don
Dear Hugh;

Glad to get your letters today. I was going to drop you a line in the next day or so to ask you if you could pick up that dough that Don has.

But first; I will be expressing all the available copies of Jan LG to you at the local express office ~~tomorrow~~ tomorrow night. I could send them off this morning but I would like to get the WE WANT YOUR SUB blank into them. If Paddy or Dick both of whom are unemployed these days are not down in a few hours to do the job I will do it myself and see that you get them. I think we will turn the pages so that the Ford article is first seen. Are you going to be able to get Larry or someone else from across the river to do the distributing. I think that it is best that you don't do the job even though I know that you are going to be completely identified with it.

Does the article do all you think we can do? I read it over just now and I think it is good even though it doesn't say much that local 200 members do not already know. But it does sum all the events up and draw quite sharply the conclusion that the ~~menabankrupt~~ Reuther leadership is bankrupt....and of course come out for the reinstatement of the 32. I would have played the article up more with a cut or some layout device but I did not know whether you felt we could handle a distribution. The rest of the issue is in my opinion terrific for CCF workers. And if there is some way that we can hit autoworkers with more of a political orientation it would be good.

It would be excellent if you can raise some money for them...get guys like Speal to kick in so we can carry out the distribution. There is nothing like getting workers to kick in dough to bring them closer and more responsible to us and our ideas. You might tell them that it is costing you three cents a piece for them. There must be 500 papers there. Actually of course it is costing us much more because of our low press run. It might well be easier to get money from sympathizers this way than a straight donation. Here are the papers in the flesh, saying what we want to say. I would imagine that Sepal probably feels that he prompted you to go ahead and get them sent in---in a considerable degree responsible for the expenditure. Be sure to tell guys like Shuste about developments like this....it makes them feel that the paper is really doing something...and it is hard for them to feel this cut off as they are.

I hope we can get by again without a blow up with Don. I am afraid if you "ask him what he wants to do." you are going to have one alright. We already know the answer. Since he is doing nothing and you have given him opportunities to do something on the lowest possible plane it seems to me that he doesn't want to, doesn't intend to do anything in the next period. I am rather amused at no doubt you are that Don should be incensed about Shuste's reluctance but aside from the feeling of isolation that all this must give you you haven't got it half bad. We have comrades here who do nothing but are continually yapping at the heels of those that are trying to do things. To some extent you are lucky. It seems to me to be clear that Don is not prepared to do anything in the next period. I don't see what we can do but accept this. It is unfortunate, it is to some degree maddening when there is work to be done and you are the only other person there to do it right now. It makes ~~many~~ serious revolutionary feel like grabbing him by the throat and shaking him, like telling him off in no uncertain terms. But what will this profit us. Emotionally it would give us some satisfaction at the time but then when we walk away and stop and think about it several hours later we ask ourselves what was achieved.

You know that these are trying times we are living in...trying times for militants and revolutionary Marxists...a period of great test/and strain on individuals. Real revolutionists, the type that can stand up in such times are rare yet in this wealthy cont-

intent of America. Revolutionists of the heart and the brain are always going to be in a minority Hugh. Even within the Bolshevik party which we are attempting to build there is always a sorting out process taking place, with some developing in the trail rising to the occasions and many shifting back. There is a continual sorting out process and it isn't one way; that is ~~with~~ from good to bad to worse, to out of the party. It works both ways. Sometimes a workers who was a hell-fire for a period for various reasons becomes slightly demoralized, ~~with~~ apathetic about the party, its work, ceases even to chip in financially. But the same guy under changed conditions will of his own get whipped up into shape, become his old self and even go much further.

I don't know what is in store for Don, what will become of him. Right now I think, well I know that we have to take what we can get from him. That discussion we had on supporting Reaume was very interesting. I tried to appeal to him on the basis of Marxist principle. I said his line was not Marxist. For one who was convinced of the correctness of Marxism and that he was one himself that would have been the most crushing argument one could devise. But you remember when he said that it may be all very true that his position was not Marxist but he still had the position. You have made all the appeals that can be made on the basis of Bolshevik discipline, he knows that you are carrying the ball and that he is just coasting, he knows that there is work to be done, he knows what is expected of him by our party if not from your example from the example of Flint etc. But it has all been to no effect. Well then we are powerless to do anything. My impression is that he wants the bookstore to keep going, the paper to come out, that he is prepared to give us money. Good. We need money very bad. I would hate like hell to see us cut of this source of money just in order to have the satisfaction of telling him that we don't think he has measured up to his responsibilities to you and to us collectively. I hope you ~~but~~ bring yourself to drop in on the two of them occasionally, tell them what you are doing, discuss calmly what is happening in Canadian and world politics, get money from him. I think it would be good if you can bring yourself to take the box key out of his hands for some reason that does not make him feel like a useless shit.

My big regret is that we are so powerless to give you a hand down there. Murray has got stalled in Montreal, It appears they have some mix-up with the landlord over the furniture and its sale and he suggests that he will be unable to get here until spring. George Clarke was here for three days a few weeks ago and we had several long talks about our organizational problems. He doesn't believe that I should leave the center here. I gather that Barry doesn't think I should either. As a matter of fact he is of the opinion that we could well let Windsor go for a while if you are really fed up and that you should carry out your proposition of going. One thing is certain we cannot make any moves at all until Murray gets here. We cannot even profitably discuss the problem.

Incidentally tell Don you got a letter from me concerning the sending of the papers and that I am glad that he is now OK. I would write him a personal letter but with the pile up of really important correspondence in front of me it is doubtful if I will get around to it.

Thanks for the notes on developments since the 93% strike vote. Your point that Reaume is behind the whole Daley talk scheme would seem to be well taken. Although from where I sit it looks like Burt and company jumped at the whole thing very anxiously. They are in a tough spot and are looking for someone to save them. The whole struggle has been placed on a defensive plane, hold onto the Rand formula, we will take the company's offer but with a few extras for some categories of workers etc. Is the new negotiating plane of the leadership pretty well the line of the union ranks?

I am surprised that the WS2 are not more aggressive or that union activists on their own are not pushing this big question. Has the arbitrator on their fate been appointed yet or is this still a bit off. Be sure to send us the leaflet that the executive has alth-

thorized on this question. Is there any move on the part of the 32 to link themselves up with our progressive caucus. What do the 32 think of the idea of holding a public meeting on their case or pushing the executive to do so. It would be a good conter offensive move against Sale.

I just happened to notice your note on the back of one of the pages. I think it is a good idea to send another item into the Militant although I dont see why they would not use the one in LC for the next issue. Your previous article covered all the developments in your last letter. As for sending you the back clippings I could easily do so I have kept them all but they have no use for further detail than we thought necessary in our article. Why don't you start from our last article as the base and and onto it what is new and important since then. So what do you say I send you back the clippings I just received plus that couple you sent last week.

We were already on the press when I received your last letter with the good news of the 100 odd who attended the meetings ~~with~~ that the 32 held. Too bad nothing came of their plans to carry out a demonstration at the mass meeting but even this may help to make them take up the question of doing something about their cases on a more serious basis. It may push them to really organize a caucus. Yes it would seem to me that a real basis for a anti-Reither caucus is shaping up. Glad to hear that you are in close contact with Detroit and they are able to follow all the ins and outs with you.

Got the sub OK. We also are receiving Ford Fact. Havent received the UAW Regional paper yet but it will probably be coming along. We have made contact through Windsor with the Michigan State CIO Educational Council for books and we have picked up about \$30 worth of bargains through them. They are very friendly..

Did you sneak across to Detroit to hear George. Ask Larry if he gave them a report on the British work? They are doing a terrific job in England. But I must pick up some other correspondence before the next issue is on us.

See what you can do about that money eh.

warmest regards

Ross

4

Dear Murray:

Yes I handled the letters as you suppose. Sent Jim and Mitz in the mail first, then a day and a half later sent Joe and Joyces. Delivered Davi's. Kit phoned the other night about her copy of the paper. she hadn't received one so I asked her if we were going to see her shortly. She told me would would hear from them and at anyrate she would be dropping down about some books in a week or so. Davi was in a great rush to get away when I met here. She had apparently made arrangements to go skating but she also did not want to talk politics with me. It appears she had made up her mind before meeting me that there was to be no politics and so she just took the letter.

Personally I am inclined to believe that they are washed up and we will hear no more of them. Sent a letter to Morde about Bill's conduct enclosed along with a note explaining why we had not taken advantage of their offer to send some one up. In his reply he asks if we consider the situation as more or less closed or could we still make use of their aid. He says nothing about Bill at all. I don't see that we should bother pushing them into any action about Bill. Haven't written the IS anything at all nor have they said anything about Joe's letter that I forwarded. I am fairly sure Joe has sent nothing further to them unless he somehow got hold of an address. You will recall I did not give him the address but sent the last letter on for him. Of course he might chose to not ask me to send something on for him and mail it say to the Quatrieme address but I doubt it. I have not written anything to them as I was thinking that the control commission report would be sufficient and much better as it does not involve me so directly.. I am typing out an letter to the N.C. today which will report some of the details...I always send them a copy.

I hope you manage to wind up the CC report this coming week-end. As for the reply to Joe. I am opposed to you writing it. Have Jean do the job he can do it... he has the line. You know to a considerable extent he doesn't know what to do with his time and spends it drinking etc. Make him know he has this job to do. As a matter of fact I am suprised that it is not done. He has the line...you can talk it over in detial with him....besides he has that long letter of mine on it.... I spent considerable time writing that up as a sort of line guide for Jean. Even if he doesn't do such a good job...what does it matter. It is for the internal bulletin...he has lots of room....anyone can supplement it etc. I think it is necessary that you shove this responsibility on his shoulders, and drive him till he finishes it off. We really need a reply...as a matter of fact I am consid rably embarrassed that we havent got it out yet. I told Trail that it is coming several times now and have had to answer some of it since we havent send it out yet.

Thanks for the bouguets on the last issue...I have spread them around. I dont know how those typos got in...that bad one about the Rhee regime. We will make a correction on that one in the next issue. About the above reply...it slipped my mind....it is necessary in my opinion not so much from the so -called minority viewpoint but for the education of all those comrades who think there is nothing wrong with Joes document and believe me there were plenty....it will be a real political education for the entire party...make them take ideas more seriously...think. As a matter of fact Jean 's reply could well be entitled Learn to Think. ...~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I am writing you this note in order to get it to you so that Jean will get to work on this document immediately. Will wrtie later about other things in the air. Incidentally Hugh sold 44 coies of the last F.I. in and around the UAW. comradely

comrade ly
Ross

February 20, 1951

J. Mitchell
Monday 2
Dear Grenier and Fitz;

Well here it is.....can you believe it, [?]they proposing conditions...and what conditions. How absurd can it become. [?]

Now you can finish the whole thing up for the internal bulletin. Hope you can get it finished by the coming week-end and get it in here so that we can mimeograph it, and if any of us think it necessary add something to it. How are you making out with your critique of Joe's article, Grenier? Hope it comes in at the same time. Can't delay it any longer. Vancouver has written in here asking about the Joe Rose case, apparently a trifle uneasy that Toronto branch will impose some disciplinary actions that it does not feel should be taken... so we need the works for them.

The background of the enclosed ukase....On Saturday morning I received a letter from them asking me to come to Joe's that afternoon or Sunday morning. Felt like telling them to go to hell but I figured we had nothing to lose and if I told them off Joe would use it...so I went Sunday morning. They ~~just~~ gave their old line, they just refuse to accept discipline from the party, they have no respect for anyone in it but strange to say little ME. Absurd isn't it...the bureaucratic tendency himself. Incidentally you should know that Joe was their chief spokesman, as a matter of fact he was the only one who had anything to say of any moment. Far from doing as you asked, use his influence to get the other comrades back into the branch, he has consciously led them out of the branch. On Thursday Jim came down and I did a real job on him ---obviously shook him. But Joe has openly taken them out of the party. Well! the meeting started off with Joyce reading the enclosure, handing me a copy, I told them in a most comradely educational way that they had to come back to the branch, that Joe was suspended until the convention, that if when they came back we found we had not reached a solution of the problem we would set up a control commission, that in my opinion it would be a betrayal of Bolshevik organizational principles to set up another branch....it would be in effect setting up another party officially on our party. They argue social incompatibility but they also argue that they are a political minority (and this has been their biggest noise...you beheaded consciously our fraction when you expelled Joe) Here they are asking us to set up a branch on a minority basis, different orientation to the trade unions, the CCF, the party. ...two branches which wouldn't work together between conventions and if they remained a minority at the convention they would on their own carry out the line of the majority Ha- Ha.... Joe went into his song and dance, we argued back and forth for about an hour then I told them it was up to them to decide...they were ordered back Monday night...and I left.

Incidentally according to Miachevelli Jimmy he was surprised to get the last letter..the days ^{of} grace till Monday night...he thought that it

was all over with the last letter.

The branch met last night and passed unanimously a motion for their expulsion...so thats that.

Had a short discussion on our future relations with them. We decided more or less that we would continue to send them notices of our forums, socials and classes. Ken was opposed but I think he has changed his mind. Personally I think they are washed up as of now. I dont think we should discount the idea that Joe did all this as an easy way and a self respectable way of getting out of the party. You know he hasn't worked openly as a party member for two years...during the last financial drive he didn't want to go to see a contact of his who he had once brought down to a forum and who has subscrbed to the paper and works with him in whatever caucus work he does in packinghouse. As a matter of fact they tell me that they intend to work underground and this has been their attitude for some ~~years~~ while...you should have heard the sounds of suprise when I mentioned that comrades in the trade unions don't necessarily work underground...that some could do sub work in the shop etc. They think that is out of this world. Now Joyce and Joe have two youngsters and now a house and all that means. Jimmy in the discussion I had with him last week even conceded that they would not be able to hold onto Davy..she is immersed in CCYM work and is completely uncontrollable. If Joe cant take dicipline from the so-called majority and has made it a principle he cant take dicipline from his minority and they arent educated to take dicipline from him. I am convinced they will fly off on their own ways...even if they dont and manage to stay together somehow if they pick up anyone we are most liable to take these persons away from them.

Jimmy's scheme appears to be that they will not set up a separate party but will work away, pick up militants some of whom, after a thorough indoctrination against the majority poison, they will send down to us to work from the inside. They will continue to grow and when they are three or four times as many workers as we have they will come down and take us over..continuing to let me edit the paper of course.

There are several other odds and ends I want to take up but will cut this off for the time being. Enclosed is the receipt for the cheque I received this moring..

comradely


Ross

Jean - how about sending a copy of the last couple issues of LC to the Devour - they might mention us

February 26, 1951

Dear Hugh;

(Dowson)

Joe Hansen, SWP leader (New York)

Just sent off in the mail a few odds and ends of papersthat I thought you and the gang would like to read, along with a copy of THE CASE OF COMRADE TULAYEV by Victor Serge. The latter I sent for Don. I am sure that he will want it. It has had terrific reviews in all the papers including one by Warde in the Militant. Sell it to him for 2.17 that is our discounted price....then you can read it. Havent had a chance myself yet.

Received both your cheques and have broken them up giving Lois her money as you instructed. Enclosing the receipts. It is good to see that we are getting money from Shuste and Morris. Hope we can keep it up.

When is the Easter week-end? I see March 23,24,25. by glancing at the calendar. And it is now only one month away. No the convention just cant possibly be by then. It's much too close I havent got the document or the CCF written yet and there has to be at the very least a month for discussion in the party...constitutionally two. We havent got the other documents written. I just dont seem to be able to get anytime between issues of the paper and correspondence. But I intend to have this coming week-end after we get Hansen away on Thursday. He is coming here for a meeting we are holding on Wednesday night.

Tell the comrades to come in to Toronto anyway. But the convention date. Well I expected Jean to be in Toronto here a few weeks ago and we could make the final arrangements as to date ~~XXX~~ documents etc. I had expected that we would hold it late April or early May. Will let you know just as soon as we can get together on this so the gang can make arrangements. You know we are planning to make a tour right after the convention with Murray's car and you couldn't start off before late April at the ~~XXXXX~~ earliest and we couldn't afford to wait around. As things stand Murray would be going to Windsor after his return from the West.

Told the comrades about your terrific sales of the F.I. Really phenomenal. Even thought that issue is on a low plane it will make all those fellows and the hundreds that they will tell about it more friendly and respectful to the press of the Trotskyists. Regardless of what Don said about the character of the previous issue it is good to see that he is at last reading our literature.

Yes I thought that the Mid-January issue was one of our better ones. particularly for more advanced workers...not so good as others from the point of view of more raw workers. Mid-February appears to be up to the same standard alt ough we had to ignore the Stalinists this time. Those are good articles that Barry is turning out although from looking at them reading them overm their style you wouldn't know that he sweats blood to produce them. All in all I think we are turning out a top flight paper, one well worth the sacrifice that the comrades are making for it. It certainly is having influence on developments in the B.C. CCF Left... that a l I can understand to be behind Wavers Letter to the Editor. You know just two months ago Weaver wrote a letter to CCF News attack-

with the following words; " I am not prepared to concede that Trotskyism and the Trotskyists are of such significance as to warrant the publicity and prominence they are seeking. So far as I am concerned I am not convinced that Trotskyism has anything of value to contribute to the proletarian cause, and I decline to be party to aiding them in getting an audience. Now he writes us a contribution, wants US to aid HIM in "getting and audience."

Got a letter from Vancouver this morning. We have finally battered our way into the Left wing there but we have inherited a lot of tactical problems, how to work, how far and how fast we want to go. It is my opinion that the Left wing itself and our comrades are moving too fast and are in danger of putting themselves out on a limb so that Coldwell and company might well dare to expell them. Of course T.C. Douglas' speech must have given the left an impetus and a good defence. Of course those recent moves against the left taken by the B.C. Provincial Council and reported in the last issue play into the left's hands, giving them publicity and sympathy throughout the B.C. section.

I see that the union situation is beginning to boil in Windsor--all the ~~CP~~ candidates running in opposition to the Reuther machine. I gather from the Tribune that there are no slates of any scope but individuals running for all the posts against the incumbents. Disatisfaction must be building up presenting us with some new opportunities. Since we cannot hold a class etc perhaps we can push the boys to get after subs for the paper. I see the Stalinists have finally cut off England ..with Powers and Brooks being the only ones they completely underwrite. According to yesterday's paper Reuther and Burt are trying to prop up their machine with some big talk about Quebec and the organization of the Quebec workers. Is there anything in this other than ~~XX~~ talk? Does Don still have his freindly relationship with Burt and does he have any dope on this. This would be of considerable interest to Jean and Murray and in aiding us to decide Jean's course

I suppose by now you have read the Militant note on the Italian splits in the CP. Well as they say any split cant be more reactionary, more non-revolutionary than the Stalinist~~XX~~ body itself. Hard to say where the specific persons involved at this time will go left but this talk about national communism is essentially progressive in so far as it is a rejection of the policy of typing the CP's to the coat tails of the Kremlin. No doubt our comrades are working on this development. What is good about this and now the Czech developments is that it will tend to through Tito back into considering the international labor movement. As you know he has been in the past four or five months been moving further away from the international labor movement. All this is certainly going to stagger the international Stalinist movement and even if it does not result in new centrist or revolutionary groupments at this time is a good thing... building up capital which we will be able to draw from at the next turn. Last night we went down to the forum that the LPP is carrying on here. I think they hold it about every third month. Buck was handling this one and it was held in the Orange Order hall on Queen near Church...the hall holds about 300. No more than 25 turned up to hear the national leader. We got into a couple of friendly discussions with fellows as they went in. Remarkably freindly, of course they did not agree...but they discussed. We are really going to concentrate on the LPP in the next period and it would be well if you would see what can be done in this field in Windsor. An awful meeting eh-waht. Unfortunatley we were having the branch meeting that night so we could not go into the forum but we intend to go into the next one and see what we can do from the floor.

Having an meeting tomorrow night with Joe Hansen. From the looks of things now it should be very successful. We have been holding a class on the Soviet Union and it is the first class in the last year or two where we have been able to get some outsiders. Not many of course but one or two at each one. Hope you can get Joan over to the Detroit meeting for Hansen. It is very good that she retains interest in the party, after all she knows little or nothing about it. I recall Don was going to get her to read the Trial pamphlets. Did he get around to it? It would be well if one of you gave her a hand. I thought her interest was through Don as is often the case but since it is otherwise we should make every effort to see what can be done...besides she is not at all too bad looking etc.

Got a friendly letter from George MacDonald the other day. It seems that he is going back to England and wrote the note from the Windsor station in Montreal. He gives us an English address and very warm greetings.

I have to cut this off as I must write to Vancouver at once with regards to some work that they are doing which seems to me to endanger the future of our caucus in the CCF

all the best

Ross

I suppose you would like to hear the final word about Joe and company. We have expelled them. The Control Commission wrote them a letter to return to the branch they replied with a most fantastic document which said go to hell in so many words and threatened to make the whole to do public. The control commission repeated its appeal to them to return at a specific branch meeting. The day before they asked me to come up and see them and they handed me a note they drew up. It was a series of demands that we would have to accede to to get them back. One was the reinstatement of Joe now and then, the setting up of a control commission of a phoney type for what I don't know, the setting up of them as a separate branch in Toronto and one other which I can't recall at this moment. Well I told them that the CC had decided on Joe's case and it would be reviewed at the convention, they couldn't blackmail the party with the rest of their memberships. A control commission might be necessary after they came back and we found it difficult to work but we could meet that when we come to it and if I also told them that in my own personal opinion the setting up of another branch would be in essence laying the foundation for another party in competition with the RWP. They claim to be a political minority, it isn't in their minds just social incompatibility which I could visualize might justify in some circumstances such an act. If they have differences now of such a character that requires them to have a branch of their own, how can the branches hope to work together thro some kind of city committee. The only contact they would have with the party generally would be through conventions which after being held and laying down the line would leave them for the period till the next convention to interpret the line as they saw fit. Absurd. So I said at anyrate the CC has told you to return to the branch and it is in your hands. It might be necessary to consider

some such proposals but this must come later aft r they return to the branch and abide by the discipline of the party. With that I left and they failed to turn up so we have written them off as per instructions o of the Control committee. So that is that. I think we did all we could do to save them and then some. So forward.

March 1, 1951

Drum
Dear Murray and Jean

M. Bidard

I have just put Joe Hansen on the train. We had a very good meeting last night with him, about 20 attended. Had a long talk with him about the minority and our disciplinary actions. He also talked with Bill S and Joe took off the morning to chew the rag with him.

He tells me that Joe spoke to him about how the quest on could be resolved and while he had no proposals of any kind gave him the impression that he desperately wanted to get back in work for the movement. His impression is that Joe is a very immature person and is now floundering around not knowing what to do. I gather from him that Bill S is quite upset and is also floundering around. Of course Joe H promised nothing told them it was very difficult if not impossible for them to intervene and I gather it was left at that.

I told Joe how it all took place and he raised some questions which you should know. Of course he was very careful in all this, very none committal he looks upon it as our baby of course. He he generally feels that possibly we have moved too fast, perhaps we should have waited for the convention to take final steps of such a decisive character. Naturally as all of us have been he is a bit leary of organizational moves. My impression is that while he doesn't challenge what has been done that he feels the control commission went farther than it should have. He asks me what did the control commission have to lose by just recording Joe's refusal to recognize the authority of the control commission and hearing him out...he probably would have said the most damning things and more completely ~~minimized~~ clearly revealed himself. He seems to me to question the advisability of the expulsion of the other comrades, he thinks when we consider ~~enforcing~~ that are obvious to us the most simple principles of Bolshevism we should consider their immaturity. His general line seems to me to be that these all of these comrades just don't know what it is all about and it is on this basis we should operate...of course then he raises the question do we think we can ever assimilate them. From his point of view he says the picture is unclear although of course it may be crystal clear when we get the control commission report.

Now all the Toronto comrades are convinced that we cannot assimilate them. I gather you are of the same opinion so in this sense what ~~has been done~~ ~~has been done~~ has been done so far finds complete justification. As far as anyone else is concerned once they read the summary of evidence of the investigation I am convinced they will be satisfied. But there is one question where they may not be satisfied although it never struck me and I am surprised that it struck Joe but it did, so we must consider it. Why did the control commission go so far particularly when the convention is coming up. My impression is that he feels that the control commission went further than it needed to ~~do~~ ~~what it should have~~. His general line seems to me to be that we did not go through the experience long enough, we may have saved ~~the~~ cost by letting the Toronto branch live in harmony and make moves towards growth that it has been deprived of but at the same time we may have inherited other costs. It appears that these comrades don't feel that they are through...if they gave up the ghost all would be fine and dandy from the point of view of the record.

but they are still there in front of us.

What do you think of all this. From your last letter I gather you are going to expell Joe which would be quite logical. But I wonder what you think of just suspending him, ~~MAINT~~ maintaining our former position with this added evidence for the convention to consider. Then of course if we just sustained our suspension we are in the position of having only suspended the ~~MAIN~~ culprit and having expelled his dupes. To just suspend Joe and have a proper balance in this it would seem to me to require a back track and ~~THANKS~~ from the expulsion of the other comrades and to suspend them until the convention. For comrades who havent lived with this I can appreciate that the whole affair coming a couple of months before the convention may cause some disquiet whocoh of course may well be dispelled when they read the control commission report but who knows..... It is best to be absolutely invulnerable in questions of disciplinary actions.

As you know there was some disagreement between us as to the authority of the Control Commission, whether it had powers of its own or was a sub committee of the N.C. Whatever may be the facts on the matter everyone would accept the control commission enforcing action if it considered it a matter of extreme urgency. Such was the case in Toronto, extreme urgency, requiring the suspension of Joe for the consideration of the convention, further evidence of his conduct between the time we could get the report and the investigation, added to this report in the opinion of the commission completely sustain this action. The subsequent action of four other comrades ~~EXPULSION~~ compels the Control Commission to suspend them, they formally suspended themselves, so we were compelled to intervene at once in a situation (they walked out of the Toronto branch) and formally suspend them.

I myself thinking it over am inclined to believe that we should retreat here, I know it will be embarrassing but so that there cannot be the slightest shred of doubt in the entire party and the F.I. it would seem to me to be best to withdraw the expulsion and suspend the four so that the convention can act of the case. If they are expelled it ~~EX~~ of course excludes them from the convention and instead of the party deciding the issue the N.C. is throwing its weight into the situation, it becomes a question of a vote of confidence in the entire leadership of the party. I think we can do it alright. Dont expell Joe, let everyone come to the convention without a doubt that in the interest of the party he had to be suspended. I am sure the convention will take a right stand. from there on in. It would be better to have some comrades beefing that we didn't go far enough than to have one comrade think that we went too far.

Here it would be hardly necessary to debate the authority of the CC ---no one will question that it was correct or at the least permissible to suspend Joe and after all the others suspended themselves so their suspension is justified. But the convention will make the final decision.

I havent spoken to any of the Toronto comrades about this yet...am getting it away in the possibility that it will reach you by the time you and Jean are just putting the final touches on your report and placing it in the mail. At the convention of course the outg ing N.C. can recommend whatever it wants..expulsion, etc.

Thinking this all over as I have been typing it I think we can switch over on our expulsion of the four without lose of face, as a matter of fact while Jo may try to make it out to be a retreat before his vicious little letter it will generally appear to be a gesture of magnanimity to the rest of the party. and thereby make him smaller still.

Since the convention is so close I am of the opinion the CC statement should be in the form of a report for the consideration of the convention and its approval of the emergency actions that it was necessary to take.

Will write later...looking forward to getting my hands on the two assignement you guys have so it doesnt clog up the puting through of the paper

comradely

Ross

March 28, 1951 /

Dear ~~MAX~~ Fitz and Louis;

well, you will see that that fellow Green wrote us a letter. Am enclosing my reply to him for your information. Ship my copy back will you... haven't yet got into the habit of making three copies. Am also enclosing some receipts that have been hanging around. Thanks for the dough.

Havent heard from anyone with regards to my letter of March 22. Angus is still silent with regards to the CC report and suspension of the four. If we get no word within the next day or so I am intending to draw up the note in the name of the NC and send the report out. It is obvious that Reg is in favor of suspension although he does not say so in black and white.

Havent heard from anyone at all, including yourselves, re-the suggestion that these comrades be approached to sign a statement recognizing the authority of the N. Convention. This of course would not prevent them appealing the N.C. decision to the F.I. but it would mean that they recognize the authority of the convention of the Canadian party and pledge themselves to commit no disloyal act pending the convention decision and the decision of any appeal they may make to the international. They may sign it like a shot... good. They may hedge and stall and sign with all kinds of if and buts---good. They may refuse to sign...all the more evidence against them at the convention. In fact we would be justified in refusing them access to any bulletin or the convention itself. We are completely justified in asking for this signature as their letter to the Toronto branch, I sent you a copy, challenges the authority of the CC, the N.C. and the Toronto Branch... you will recall in their basic document on the bureaucratic tendency they say something to the effect that they will abide by the decisions of the convention "as far as we are able. If I recall correctly when the Shachtmanites refused to signify in advance their willingness to accept the decisions of the World Congress they were excluded as is entirely logical. We commit ourselves in advance to abide by the findings of the convention...so must anyone and everyone else if the discussion and decision s are to mean anything at all. I think that such a demand of them is entirely in order

What about the bulletin they are drawing up for circulation? You no doubt noted that Reg ~~suggested that~~ takes it for granted that ~~the~~ the text of Joe's appeal to the CC and N.C. decision should be circulated. In other words we should not accept a long document laying his charges and his grievances against the party but one limited to some degree to an appeal of his suspension and I suppose you would have to give him latitude to defend his actions, but at anyrate a strictly circumscribed job. I suppose you would do the same with the four---a chance to explain their actions and announce their intention to appeal. What do you think?

To be frank I am in a quandry. Generally I think that the above is what should be done. The CC report doesn't go into all the details, with the evidence etc. The N. Convention itself would take up all the defense Joe and co would want to give and the publication of all and anything by Joe would only confuse the party, divert its attention from the real problems confronting it. On the other hand we dont want it to appear to anyone that we are suppressing anything and Joe, you can depend on it, ~~XXXX~~ would try to work this angle for all he was worth. There therefore is some value in throwing the thing wide open, let them say all...from my own point of view every time they open their collective mouths they condemn themselves the more. However I must admit that I was somewhat suprised by Vancouver's reaction to Barry's reply to Joe. So we are faced with telling them

- 1) send us anything you want for the internal bulletin
- 2) drawing up a statement telling them that their contribution must be a circumscribed one as outlined above.

my note

After casting your votes on this matter tell me

(?) Are you in favor of presenting the four and Joe with a demand that they signify their recognition of the authority of the convention.

Re the convention. I think we should set the date now. I hear that May 24 is not a holiday and we should have a holiday week-end. I would suggest we set the date June 1, 2, 3, and 4 taking in the Monday holiday as you see. Barry has quit school and is right now working on the political resolution. We hope to have it in the hands of the N.C. for approval or amendment within 10 days. This will give us the start. As soon as we get the paper away and the correspondence cleared up a little better I will get to work on the CCF document

Of course I haven't sent out the CC report yet as I am waiting for Angus. But what about the job you are working on Fitz? Since it has been delayed so long I am wondering about its character. It is like resurrecting the dead writing about his document now. In a sense it would tend to put him onto a plane of having some valid differences with the majority and a sense sustain his line of persecution of a minority. As a matter of fact several weeks ago when we were expecting it I had in my mind drawn up an addenda to it. A short item telling the party how his ideas, despite this document having a clear line, are not at all to be taken seriously for he says the CCF is the political arm of labor but in the branch discussions, recorded in the minutes, he said among other fantastic things that the CCF does not represent anything different from the Liberals and Tories, and more. At what stage are you writing it? Perhaps it would be best to use the work you have done if you are not too far progressed to ~~XXXXXX~~ switch over with the material to the writing of a trade union document. We could use one for the convention. I am pretty sure that Meg won't handle it as was suggested to him long ago. However if you are well on a thing we should finish it off and get it out. In view of the reaction of Vancouver such a polemic is badly needed. And of course it can be and ~~XXXXXX~~ probably you are writing it so that it shows Joe up for what he is, dealing with the line seriously but the line caller as a monstrous fraud.

If you are well on with it let's have it as soon as possible. Would like to get it out before the next issue of the paper.

If you haven't really got going with it you might consider using it as part of the basis for a trade union document which we could use for the convention. I don't suppose we will be able to get a preliminary discussion document on French Canada will we?

Received the pile of pamphlets Louis. Haven't had a chance to run through them. I gather that M stopped off in England as Healy writes me that he has heard from a Fr comrade all about the Rose case and his sympathy is with us. It appears that Joyce wrote him offering to put him up when he arrives... I gather she got the address from the Fellowship in B.C.

Suppose the Montreal papers have carried reports of the situation in B.C. re the Fellowship. The MacNeil leadership with the sanction of the national leadership is handing them an ultimatum to disband. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ From here it appears doubtful if they will get any terms of any kind from the leadership at all and they will probably be kicked out lock stalk and barrel. Young and Cameron have already ratted from the Fellowship and a left has crystallized. If they go out as a group we will be in a good position to swing the whole thing or at least part of it over to us. Faced with a terrific possibility of becoming a small mass party in the city of Vancouver if things go good. My impression from recent motions the Fellowship has passed that it is coming very close to us politically. We have a man on the executive and several good comrades in the ranks. If they go as a group, and it looks like MacNeil will give them no alternative, I have urged the comrades to invite us to tell them our program etc. Will let you know when we get further news from B.C. surprised we haven't heard anything for five or six days.

Hope Dion takes hold there fast... looking forward to your arrival Louis

Ross

April 2, 1951 ✓

Dear Grenier and Fitz-

Shortly after I posted ~~XXXXXX~~ you a copy of the letter I sent Ross and so that you would know what is going on and the line I am advising I received notes from both Reg and Angus re the control commission and the whole minority problem.

They signify their agreement with the reduction in penalty from expulsion to suspension so I have drawn up a short introduction

to your report. I am enclosing a copy. I hope you think it is ok. Have sent the report with this appended page to still the insistent enquiries of the Vancouver comrades and have also sent the four comrades most immediately concerned copies of the page and report. Holding back the rest to enclose them in a bulletin along with your awaited document.

I have told the "minority" that their other enquiries, the bulletin etc will be answered when I get the word.

That is the score on my proposal that we demand of them a statement that they ~~will~~ recognize the authority of the coming Ntl Convention and will abide by its decision (not necessarily agree with, they can appeal to the Fourth) ~~XXXXXX~~ I ask again for two reasons 1) because both Angus and Reg agree with the idea; 2) from your reply of the 26th I think you completely miss my point.

You say "we must recognize that one may abide by a decision without agreeing with said decision. Otherwise the right to appeal would not exist. We recognize then the right to appeal to the F.I. if they want to." Of course, of course. I guess I wasn't too clear here. Here you completely misunderstand the question. You do however make a point, rather technical I think in this matter of their letter not being a reply to an official decision of the N.C. but merely a communication of the Toronto branch informing them that they are expelled. If you think that is a sufficient reason well I am satisfied. This was just an ~~idea~~ idea and it would seem to me to be quite a logical act on our part after all their conduct. I would possibly go along way towards showing what they really are too if they hedge, if and but on the matter. They have now bought a mimeograph machine of their own and Bill S is attending their meetings regularly..in to hr words they have setup a group with a person in it who was never a member of the party. When I challenged Bill with membership in their minority he tried to talk his way out with the argument that he could not be a member of a part if he was never a member of the whole. His wife of course also goes ---all this of course only sustains them towards an independent existence. Of course I am not worried about this in itself...I am quite indifferent as to what happens to them or what they do, I am convinced they are lost souls...but it is all very valuable for putting the boots to their claims on our movement, and settling the score in everyone's minds.

Here is what Reg says on my proposal "The appended copy of the March 5 letter of the # minority" must be handled initially as you have suggested: a clear cut acknowledgement of the Party and the convention without equivocation." Here is Angus ; " They definitely should signify at this time their willingness to abide by a convention decision by stating so in writing."

I don't think it is of big moment, just a good idea because I think we will give all kinds of equivocation. ~~But~~ Reg and Angus are for it.....you two argue it out once again and let me know your decision as soon as possible. I am leaving it in your hands.

You leave me in the air re the bulletin they have on tap. In the letter of March 28 you say let them print it, we will distribute it only not to all section of the International. Then in the letter of the 29th you say "we are of the opinion that it should not be circulated in the party sooner than a week or two before the convention. Well I suppose

these are not actually in contradiction, publish it but we are going to hold off its circulation. Here is Reg's opinion "Concerning His(Joe's) right and privileges, my point is---that having by his action before the CC invited suspension he is thereby cut off from any channel of furthering his alleged political differences. However, I think he should still have the right or privilege of placing before the party any objections he might have as to technical or procedural matters in his case. In other words, if he cares to appeal this decision to the convention the text should be published---provided that its text is restricted to a challenge of the procedure followed. " Angus says nothing on this matter although I might say that he takes a much softer attitude to them than does anyone else,,,one that surprises me. He says that "Their efforts to be dealt with as a minority and their appeal to the CC would seem an indication tat they are sincere...their attitude in the next period will determine in large part a convention decision...however some work may be done may be done among them before the convention..."

My position is this....we at least this is what I would like to see done...let them write up anything but a line of crap about the control commission, the charges laid by the executive and all the slanders and counter charges. If they have anything political alright. I dont think they should be silenced about their suspension but in this regards should be permitted to say what Reg suggests. I dont agree with Reg where he says they should be cut off from furthering their alleged political differences. This is what I would think is the most desirable situation from the standpoint of the party.

Now I know that they will rant and rave about suppression etc...I see you attempt to get around this by saying yes go ahead write anything you like but we are going to hold it up until two weeks before the convention...by this you wont prevent all the hae and cry ...two weeks before the convention,,,why no one will be able to consider the material the delegates will have been elected without being considered on their suitability as to their stand on our contributions.. I can hear it all now.

It seems to me that your proposal is not really going to answer the purpose for which I think you shape it. It is either in my opinion;THE BULLETIN IS WIDE SPENT WE WILL TAKE ANYTHING YOU HAVE TO SAY, SEND IT IN, WE WILL CIRCULATE IT AT ONCE. or the position I advance in the paragraph two above this one.

Will you get together and let me know your decision at once so I can then take it to Reg and Angus.

comradely

Ross

Incidentally did you get my letter to the box dated ~~XXXXXX~~ March 28. I take it that Jean's letter of the 29 is not an answer to it. I sent it to the box, the next day I got Grenier's official notification that the box had been dropped.

*It is of course well to tell about the
branch work in with... when there
is the issue of the suspension - then
contact a back of the... accept
decisions for the branch.*

April 9, 1951 ✓

Dear Fitz and Grenier;

Received your contribution this morning and will get it typed up and out within the next day or so. Have skimmed through it and it appears to meet the bill excellently. Off hand I don't think there is anything that needs to be done to it. The one point that you raise in your letter I think we can let slip by. I think I will add a note to the bulletin reporting the exact words Joe said to the branch on the CCF...that it didn't represent anything progressive on the Canadian political scene etc. Sort of a final word to dispose of him in everyone's mind as a political person. Not really needed but I think it is a good idea.

I think you are generally right that the party doesn't really pressingly need either a document on trade union or French Canadian problem...but it seems to me that it is a good idea if we can do something on both questions if we have the time. I think you should try to take the time...lets say to do some work on the French Canadian question.....not a document that will be looked upon as our position and to which the party is committed. Sort of a preparatory job...handle it like the American comrades handled the Negro question for a long time. Start the party thinking about it...a discussion contribution towards hammering out a party line.

Enclosing another sub that came in the mail...Doing pretty good eh what..with that list. What does that make it---four? so far.

As soon as I get your opinions on the questions posed in previous letter will settle the matters with the rest of the N.C.

Comradely

Ross

Barry has quit the school and is working on the political resolution. I think he expects to have it all ready to be sent to the N.C. by the coming week end. After I manage to get this issue of the paper out I will be rolling off the CCF document...these are the two we really need. Going to get Barry to put the next issue of the paper, while I am on the CCF job, through the printers etc himself

INTERNAL BULLETIN

100-4
2 pds

April, 1951 ✓

Vol. II, No. 4

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Issued by
THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY
Canadian Section of the
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(National Secretary's Statement on the CC Report)

The following is a report of the Control Commission struck off some months ago by the National Committee to hear charges laid by the Toronto Branch Executive against Comrade Joe Rose and to investigate the general internal situation in the Toronto Branch.

In the course of its investigations and flowing out of them the Control Commission was faced with a demonstrative walk-out of the Toronto Branch by four other comrades. In the interests of the maintenance of the discipline of the party the Toronto Branch unanimously in agreement with and upon the recommendation of the Control Commission expelled these four.

The National Committee has unanimously voted to adopt the report. The National Committee is in complete agreement with the suspension of Comrade Rose until the convention of the party. At the same time the National Committee upon the motion of the national secretary has unanimously agreed to reduce the penalty in the case of Comrades Davids, James, Joyce and D—— from that of expulsion to that of suspension until the coming national convention.

In so doing the National Committee is not to be understood to think that the actions of these comrades do not justify such disciplinary action as expulsion. As is obvious from the report these comrades have conducted themselves in a manner that would only signify their complete rejection of the democratic centralist organizational principles upon which our party is founded.

The National Committee however is of the opinion that the party is of sufficient maturity to give a certain tolerance to these four comrades who themselves do not appear to understand the character of their conduct and leave the matter of their final status as regards the party to be settled by the national convention.

Ross Dowson

National Secretary.

ADDENDUM TO "Not Just Aberrations"

By Paul Kane

After reading Comrade Fitzgerald's note on the Rose document it is hard to believe that there might even be one person left in the party who will ever again take anything that Comrade Rose writes or says with any seriousness whatsoever. But through the maze of contradictions, errors, and double-talk, Comrade Fitzgerald points out that there is a line, a line breaking through it here and there. The fact that there is a line in this document despite all the aberrations, a line which runs counter to all the facts and the ABCs of Marxism may lead this hypothetical Comrade to still think, even after Comrade Brent's reasoned document "Big Smoke But No Fire" that after all Comrade Rose and the minority who have endorsed this document do represent some honest ascertainable position in the party; that they have a "position" even though it may be totally false. Nothing could be further from the truth.

While Comrade Fitzgerald ends up showing that the Rose document does have a line on the trade union bureaucracy and the tasks in the unions, do not take this fact as being of any real moment in understanding what the struggle that Comrade Rose has been waging with unremitting fierceness is all about. Just as the document is packed with aberrations, the line that pokes through at various points is essentially itself an aberration.

When one of the Toronto Comrades pointed out (well over a year ago) to Comrade Rose and the few comrades who were supporting him at that time, that they expressed a tendency, soft on Stalinism, hard on the CCF and in opposition to the Bolshevik principles of organization, he was met with a string of abusive denials. In his next document, and we make this prediction with the greatest confidence, Comrade Rose will deny that this one contains the line that Comrade Fitzgerald proves it to contain, by pointing to the contradictions that it teems with, that qualify and hedge around this and that statement.

In the course of one of the Toronto discussions on the Rose Document one of the comrades, explaining the dual character of the trade union bureaucracy and the progressive aspect of its support of the CCF as the political arm of labor, was met with the ejaculation from Comrade Rose that the trade union bureaucracy did not contain “one element of progressiveness.” This not being conclusive enough, he added “not even one iota, one half an iota of progressiveness”.

But not only will Comrade Rose deny that he holds this absurd position; in the course of their own work (2 of the minority including Comrade Rose are members of the same local in Packinghouse), one will search in vain for any evidence or even a tendency on their part to conduct themselves in that local on the basis of this document and this ejaculation. Quite the contrary, for years Comrade Rose strenuously resisted all attempts on the part of more experienced comrades to have him attempt to take advantage of various situations developing in his local to commence the drawing of a line between the bureaucracy and the union rank and file. In his documents, he refers to these attempts rather facetiously as “creating situations”, and his advisors as “office leaders,” as persons who do not have any conception of the lack of understanding on the part of the workers, of the role of the trade union bureaucracy.

It was good to see Comrade Rose commit himself to the stand, that the CCF is the political arm of labor in this document. Comrade Fitzgerald shows that Comrade Rose, to put it kindly, from subsequent remarks in the document, doesn't really, when you get down to it, understand what this means. The Toronto comrades even understand his position less.

We feel hesitant about reporting the various comments that Comrade Rose has made on various subjects on the Toronto Branch floor, but we feel certain that Comrade Rose will not mind our reporting this one. After all it was made and confirmed in a special educational meeting, put aside to deal with the Rose document and confirmed again by Comrade Rose in a branch meeting, where he commented, that he did not care to say anything on it at the time.

So Comrade Rose concedes that the CCF is the political arm of labor; well here are the words he spoke at this special meeting — word for word, vouched for by their author. “It is a fundamental error to think that the Canadian workers look at the CCF as their class party... the CCF signified nothing in the last federal elections... it did not signify an alternative to the

Liberals and Tories... the CCF is not a class movement"... One of the comrades asked Comrade Rose did he think that the party was right in endorsing the CCF since 1945, if so why? Comrade Rose refused to answer; "the question is a stupid one" he said.

Perhaps Comrade Rose in his next document will make some comments on this incident for the elucidation of the party and not evade it, like he evaded Comrade Brent's reply to the second plank of the "position" of the minority "An Open Letter to the Party Membership" with more abuse, with more ravings.

It is unfortunate, but after 2 years of fierce and unrelenting struggle, no one knows what Comrade Rose, and the minority which mistakenly supports him, really believe; what their ideas really are, what they want. No one including the "minority" itself.

It is unfortunate that this is so. It would have been much better had Comrade Rose, after 3 years of fumbling around, been able to draw a balance sheet, to have been able to develop a clear cut difference instead of retaining as Comrade Brent put it: "his firm adherence to the psycho-analytic school of politics. . . slanderous 'interpretation'... seeking out the motives of his 'opponents'".

If Comrade Rose had developed a clear cut "difference" which was capable of being understood by the comrades, then the party could have dealt with the matter and settled it, but after over 2 years of attempting to draw a political line, the party, specifically the Toronto branch, has to admit total failure. No one to our knowledge knows even now, what the political differences are. Equally as frustrating, on the organizational plane, Comrade Rose has no solution to meet the "fundamental." problem confronting the party — the bureaucratic tendency — namely Ross Dowson, whom it appears still wants to edit the paper and remain as national secretary.

Abern carried on an unprincipled struggle in the American party for many years. Eventually he resolved this struggle to the education of the party by landing in Burnham's camp. He finally took a clear cut line on important political and organizational questions and our American comrades were able to meet the problem to everyone's satisfaction and to the education of most of the International. Our Abernite, Comrade Rose, after a prolonged struggle... we cannot imagine a more bitter and sustained one.... has no line which he admits to. What they call "our differences" no one is able to grasp clearly or understand. What they advance with one hand, they take back with the other. Truly, unprincipled combinationism, in the case of Comrade Rose, reaches unparalleled heights.

It is sad to record but the minority has no political or organizational program; it has no answers to any of the problems confronting the party... it has no perspective. It is an unprincipled combination; we can only conclude that it is organized on the basis of personal likes and dislikes; principally, it must be said, on backward tendencies that exist in the minds of newer, inexperienced, uninitiated and unassimilated party comrades. Comrade Rose's primary skill is a sensitive nose for ferreting out petty antipathies and expressions of backwardness in newer comrades, and an unfortunate personality that permits him to utilize these at the expense of the party.

Comrade Brent projected the hope, a year ago, that perhaps it was not too late for Comrade Rose himself to effect a drastic swerve in his orientation and devote himself to loyal participation in the work of the party. Comrade Rose has not made this wished-for swerve and the party has been compelled to intercede. Without prejudice, we think that there is little hope that Comrade Rose will make it. It will have to be a very demonstrative one to allay our fears.

April 1951.

GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE RWP – May, 1951 (*Excerpts*)

“The following is the Political Resolution as re-drafted by the editorial committee struck off by the Political Committee in line with the decision of the Second National Convention.”

<< *changes ordered by the 1951 Convention* >>

The International Situation

(...)

The Workers, the Trade Union Bureaucracy, and the CCF

Canadian labor underwent a transformation during and following the war far outstripping even that recorded by the Canadian bourgeoisie, their economy and their world position. The labor force as a whole increased about a fifth to well over five million; the percentage engaged in farm labor dropped to under a quarter while that engaged in manufacturing increased to well over a quarter. But the increased social weight of the industrial proletariat was even greater than the numerical and percentage gains would indicate, owing to the great advance of productivity that went hand in hand with the war and post-war expansion.

The war saw the emergence of this class as an organized force, over a million strong. But more significant than even this quantitative change was the qualitative change registered by the workers. The great centers of proletarian concentration, the mass production industries and basic industry were organized on the most modern and effective basis; industrial unionism. Furthermore, the working class of Quebec, where a veritable industrial revolution occurred during the war, began to be drawn into the mainstream of the Canadian labor movement, thus undermining the most powerful bastion of Canadian reaction.

This transformed Canadian working class consolidated its power and deepened its union consciousness in the inspiring struggles which swept the country in '46. Defying the government, War Labor Boards and the massed threat of the RCMP, the workers carried their “illegal” strikes through to the largest wage gains ever won in Canada.

Despite the youth of the Canadian labor movement, however, it is already thoroughly bureaucratized at its top levels. The new leadership of the CCL(*Canadian Congress of Labour, the industrial union federation*) as well as the moss-backed TLC (*Trades & Labour Congress, the craft union federation – ed.*) machine men, utilized the war situation of acute labor shortage to make a deal with the state. In return for the green light to expand their own base and influence virtually unhindered, they not only refused to fight for the betterment of the workers' living standards, but sabotaged the struggle to defend them. This sabotage they carried on allegedly to further the “defense of democracy.” When the war ended, however, and the great struggles they had tried to avoid broke through despite the bureaucratic incubus, those “leaders”, while generally maintaining the appearance of going along, tried by hook and crook to get them off the picket lines and into “lawful” channels. They bear the full blame for permitting the decline in labor's living standards despite the great gains of '46, and for the resulting extensive period of apathy among the ranks. In their fundamental subservience to

the state, and to consolidate and extend their own grip at the expense of the Stalinist section of the bureaucracy, they have carried the cold war into the unions and further undermined the democratic rights of the membership. While the CCL bureaucracy plays in part a progressive role by virtue of its support of the CCF as the political arm of labor, the bulk of the leaders of the TLC – the largest trade union center in Canada -- refuse to make even this gesture.

(...) even more significant is the building by the CCL and important elections of the TLC of their own political arm — the CCF. The reasons for the different tempo of development of Canadian and U.S. labor in this decisive sphere are cited in the 1946 resolution of the party. Among other explanations the chief one stressed was the relative weakness of the trade union movement in Canada and the consequent more uncompromising stand of the state, reinforced by American capital which sought to retain Canada as a low wage area.

The 1946 resolution pointed out that at that time, despite the endorsement of the CCL, the CCF still primarily rested upon an agrarian base, chiefly in the West, and its membership in the cities was almost exclusively middle class. It noted what was then merely the **possibility** of the CCF becoming the mass party of labor.

This variant was definitively shown to have been established in life by the results of elections held in 1948. While losing agrarian support the CCF swept the industrial ridings of Ontario, in which 50% of Canadian manufacturing industry is concentrated. In the same year it captured three federal industrial ridings in significant by-election upsets, considerably increasing its vote in two of them. The CCF generally held or increased its industrial support in the 1949 general election, while its rural vote declined. In these and subsequent elections the CCL Political Action Committees took on flesh and blood and through them the unions became a powerful driving force, financially and organizationally, of the CCF campaigns. Trade union leaders were increasingly run as CCF candidates; the CCL trade union bureaucracy through their dynamic role in bringing the CCF into the union movement, became a real power in the organization.

These developments <<indicate>> (proved conclusively) that as the Canadian workers advance to political consciousness they <<tend to>> express this consciousness through support of the CCF. <<The trend is well established and there is little>> (Consequently it is now established beyond a) doubt that the road of Canadian labor <<will be>> (lies) through the CCF.

The CCF is still in advance of the class as a whole; its stable base is still narrow. While the workers are projected towards the CCF with no possibility of turning back, and are destined to go through the experience of reformism, nevertheless they approach the CCF with considerable doubts. These are prompted by their experiences with the trade union bureaucracy and reservations with aspects of Coldwell's policies. This attitude is highly progressive, though colored at first by a touch of cynicism not only concerning the leadership, but the whole idea of political action.

The reformist CCF <<begins to take form>> (comes on the scene) as the Canadian labor party not at a time when it is able to win any extensive or lasting reforms

for the workers by legislative means and so fasten a firm grip on them, to imbue them with the idea that class politics means class conciliation on the state level, but in the epoch of capitalist decay and permanent crisis when their old positions can be held, not to speak of new ones gained, only by economic action backed up and concentrated against the entire capitalist class by militant political action.

This contradiction of reformism in this epoch is sharply illustrated by the ever-increasing rightward trend of the CCF leadership precisely at the time the workers are more and more <<receptive to radical solutions to their problems>> (turning to it in their quest for radical solutions.) In the field of foreign policy they slavishly follow the government, except where it diverges from the British Labor Party. They support the arms economy and act as its apologists and propagandists to the workers, sugaring it over with increasingly thinning ideological enticements. They redbait and support in the last analysis the drive against civil rights. Afraid of the workers – Coldwell has hopefully pronounced the class struggle “dead” – they strive to keep them at arms length, using them as a disciplined voting bloc. While forced to play a dual role because of the necessity to hold and extend their labor base, and representing at this stage the principle of independent political action not yet subscribed to by the majority of the Canadian working class, nevertheless they are fundamentally in a war coalition with the <<bourgeoisie>> (bourgeois state), and are committed above all else to the defense of dying capitalism.

The union bureaucracy section of the CCF leadership is fully in accord with this traditional conception of the agrarian-spawned Coldwell leadership as to what is meant by the “political arm of labor.” They have made the CCF their own solely in order to protect their privileges.

The protection they thus strive to achieve has two main aspects, characterizing their dual role. On the one hand they need an independent party as pressure upon the bourgeois state, and eventually, they hope, its administrator. This need manifests itself not only in support of the CCF, but also in such actions as the increasing trend to top-level labor unity we have seen in the submissions and demands of the bureaucracy upon Ottawa. This does not alter their fundamental subservience to the state, it is merely an aspect of it. They look upon the salvation of capitalism as their own salvation. On the other hand, the conditions and relationship of class forces in Canada which drove the bureaucracy into its position of relative independence of the bourgeois parties in control of the state, forces upon the ranks of Canadian labor in periods of upsurge a highly militant political orientation in the direction of its economic struggles.

It is no accident that the call for a general strike arose powerfully among the working masses during the ‘46 strike wave, and began to be felt in the air even during the short railway strike. The bureaucracy must provide itself with a means of siphoning off and controlling this militancy which threatens their positions. The CCF serves their purpose admirably at this stage; they use it as a substitute for economic action, for that militancy they so fear. When as in 1946 and the railway strike, all their restraints failed; they use the CCF to try and maneuver the struggle off the picket lines and into the purely parliamentary arena. Through limited — if ever-diminishing — independence from the bourgeois parties, they seek to turn the state into an instrument to defend their own privileges and tie the workers more securely to it.

Thus while their support of the principle of independent labor political action is progressive and in advance of the consciousness of the majority of the Canadian working class, nevertheless the aims of their "independent politics" are reactionary. As much as the CCF farm leaders, these bureaucrats have no desire to see the CCF become a genuine labor party, that is based firmly and democratically upon the ranks and responsive to their demands and pressure. As the workers more and more turn to the CCF, under the impulsion of the war drive, the reactionary purposes of the bureaucracy will increasingly come to the fore.

There is not a whit of difference between the old agrarian CCF leadership and the Millards and Moshers. They are all dependent upon the labor movement; their policies and orientation are cut from one cloth. The trade union bureaucrats support the war economy; they merely attempt to maintain their own positions within its framework. This is symbolized by their eager scurrying into the Manpower Advisory Committee. They have carried the witch-hunt venomously into the unions. Mosher put his pen to the ruling against the CSU. Any clashes that may develop in the leadership of the CCF will, in all probability for the next period, find the Coldwell-Mosher leadership solid against dissident elements of the party's secondary leadership; on the other hand, isolated agrarian MP's (such as Percy Wright, who voted for the government's railway strike bill), and, on the other, elements from the lower ranks of the union bureaucracy who are under the direct pressure of the workers.

Labor and the War Drive; Perspectives

"The key to the growth of the Canadian Trotskyist Movement", states the party's 1946 resolution, "depends on a correct appraisal and attitude towards the CCF. That appraisal now can only be that the CCF is the political expression of the Canadian working class. The perspectives ahead for the class, therefore are fundamentally intertwined with the perspectives of the CCF; and the latter, in turn, with our own perspectives.

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, as the drive to complete regimentation and war becomes more and more urgent, the tendency of the trade unions to become disciplinary appendages of the state machine through the agency of the CCF parliamentary-union bureaucracy will accelerate. At the same time the political class consciousness of the workers will develop by leaps and bounds.

Driven into a blind alley on the purely economic arena, the workers have already begun to turn sharply to political solutions; the extension and deepening of the war economy, in which the political nature of all problems becomes bared to the workers, will greatly facilitate this process. The workers will resist with growing power the imposition of all the sacrifices demanded by that "emergency" in which they see the bosses reaping fantastic profits. The curve of the class struggle will be up, though not in a straight line; but periods of passivity, doubts, even demoralization, while they will be deep-going because of the increasingly gigantic tasks confronting the workers without let-up, will for that very reason also be short lived.

While events undoubtedly will force the Canadian labor movement to compress its future development to the struggle for power into a short span, no stages in this development will be skipped. In the period ahead, the CCF will become the mass party of the Canadian working class; the CCF Trade Union Committees, the PACs —now sterile circles dominated by opportunists and careerists — will show new life; the move for affiliation to the CCF will grow prodigiously. While the bureaucracy will, if not continue to support and encourage, at least go along with these developments from an organizational point of view; the workers will imbue them with a deeper significance. As the mighty class struggles in the offing unfold, they will seek to use their organizations to defend their positions under the mounting capitalist offensive.

(...)

Even if no transforming international developments were to occur in the next period — and we cannot grant this — we can still predict that at the very least the increase of mass militancy, defensive strikes, and politicization, coupled with the critical attitude of the workers to their leaders, will prepare the basis for a broad left wing in the unions and the CCF. Whereas previous left wings we have seen in the CCF were important but isolated phenomena divorced from the broad current of the labor movement, in accordance with the predominantly petty-bourgeois composition of the CCF constituency clubs which are still its main active membership, the future will see the left wing union militants becoming the most active and critical (...) inevitably developing in opposition to the leadership on the political plane also. They will tend, from the beginning to join forces with re-inspire rank and file leftists already in the CCF, reinforced and encouraged by the anti-war traditions and growing opposition of the Canadian people — even now considerably developed as indicated by the rejection of troop involvement in Korea revealed by the Gallup Poll, by the flop of the volunteer drive, and within the CCF itself by the outspoken stand of T.C. Douglas, as well as the B.C Left.

This left-wing cadre that will be crystallized out in the CCF in the next period will present the greatest opportunities and most favorable field of work for revolutionists. Prior to this development, in the transitional period, and state of semi-flux in which the political development of the class now finds itself, we are not without some perspectives of increasing our cadre through independent work. The CCF at this time offers little inspiration, attraction or satisfaction to the militant elements of the working class and student youth.

(...) .

The only serious contenders against us in the struggle to advance our tendency, to influence the left and, at this stage, gain direct to the independent party the most militant elements of the youth, etc., are the Stalinists. What are the perspectives for them?

(...)

Tasks of the Party In the Next Period

The great task facing the Canadian working class is to tear themselves completely free of the capitalist state and all its agencies which are preparing their

destruction, and to fulfill their socialist destiny. All the struggles of the workers in this period lead towards this goal; the struggle is political; it is destined to go through the CCF.

(...)

“In countries where the reformist parties by far outdistance all other working class formations and are the polar force for the great majority of the proletariat (England, Belgium, Australia) our movement should attempt to integrate itself in these organizations, to organize within them and to develop within them a conscious left wing.”

The main orientation of the Canadian movement must be to “integrate itself” in the reformist party, the CCF. (...) (But) most *(are)* marked, could not get in. Some of our fraction comrades are even now threatened with expulsion. Thus the dissolution of the independent party would by no means enable a more effective utilization of our forces, the primary tactical consideration. Furthermore, we would, through premature, ill-prepared entry, be in possible danger of losing some of our painstakingly gathered and numerically quite weak forces. (...) The whole purpose of the independent party now must be to aid and forward our task of entry — entry in a sound condition that will ensure the success of this move. The independent party’s task now is to gather, consolidate and prepare our forces for this great turning point in our struggle. Thus, far from there being any contradiction between the continuation of the independent party for a period and our entry-orientation, that temporary continuation is a vital element of our orientation.

The turn to CCF fraction work, to the point of predominance in our activity, has already been made; this work must now be extended and more consciously undertaken as a task of integration. Our fraction work must be tied to the dynamics of the class movement; though complicated by the existence of the independent party it must fundamentally and increasingly be carried out in the spirit of the total entry we are preparing for. The exact inter-relations between our partial entry and independent work must be determined by the concrete circumstances within the framework of our need to build a cadre and our over-all entry orientation in which that need is a key factor.

We will maintain the party skeleton; we will publish the independent press. Apart from this, every comrade who can must join and work in the CCF <<where a concrete evaluation of the whole situation, both objective and subjective, warrants this tactic. In the trade unions, political work can best be carried on through membership in the PACs and in the main, CCF membership makes possible the fullest utilization of major field of activity>> (It is of course impossible to work effectively in the trade unions – the TLC or CCL – without CCF membership.)

The fundamental tasks of our struggle for the creation and influence of the left wing can be clearly delineated in their broad outline even at this stage.

The development and leadership of the left will proceed hand in hand with a struggle to transform the CCF from labor party merely in terms of its mass base into a labor party based upon the active participation and control of the union ranks. The most elementary steps of this transformation — campaigns for support of and

affiliation to the CCF — will aid in assembling the first cadre of the left.

The essence of the whole struggle of the trade union-CCF militants, in their immediate as well as fundamental objectives, is the fight for democracy, in the unions and the CCF. This is one struggle against one bureaucracy; it is the essence of the fight for independence from the capitalist state, which will be achieved, ultimately, by breaking the CCF from this state, or, as it is much more likely to be posed, by breaking the workers from the CCF.

The struggle for democracy is profoundly interlinked with the struggle for a correct program forwarding the interests of the masses. Such a program will inspire and consolidate the ranks with the feeling of power; it will also expose to them in terms of their day-to-day, bread and butter interests, what is really behind the bureaucratic curbs and repressions.

Most clearly is this the case in the demand for a referendum on the question of war — the overriding question in this period, to which all other questions are intimately connected. This slogan imbues the masses with the sense of getting a grip on the steering wheel of events; and they will ask with increasing impatience; why does the state oppose it? Isn't it democratic? And why do our leaders oppose it? A mass struggle around this issue will inexorably spell out the answers to these questions to the rank and file.

This is our central slogan against war; it raises the whole question of the war, its character, etc., in the most effective way. It is the transitional slogan against war best suited to exposing those “transitional” slogans of rallying support for war — such as “equality of sacrifice” and its old CCF variant “no conscription of man-power without conscription of wealth” — which we may expect will under the rising anti-war pressure be substituted by the bureaucracy for its present open support of the war and war program, already much more hedged than in the initial stages of Korea.

To say that this is our central anti-war slogan does not mean that it is pressed ahead of or to the exclusion of the slogans of opposition to the immediate effects of the war drive: No Conscription! No Wage Freeze! No Labor Draft! Revoke the War Budget! etc. What is meant is that the referendum slogan whenever possible should be put forward alongside such demands, channeling the hostile, nascent anti-war feelings into the direction of their generalization, preparing deeper-going, more conscious actions.

(end)

...some more gets more settled and has May 2, 1951. Butane.
...team and generally everything is fine.

Dear Murray; ² - I have the chance to drop in on those fellows who subscribed to good results ah, we will let it ride for a while another mailing. I suppose Grenier told you who they

Sorry to be so long in answering but we have a new problem on our hands....getting another headquarters. We have to be out of here there by the end of this month and I have been using spare time to walk the streets and trail after ads. Barry has been devoting all his time to the document. It has taken him much longer than he had expected but he tells me that it will be ready by this week-end for the three of us here to discuss make any revisions we feel necessary from this end-~~XXXX~~
~~XXXXXX~~ We will then send it on to you and PR-Van.

At the same time we will discuss the convention date and try to fix one subject to the N.C. approval. I have received a letter from Healy He says his passage is all set and he will probably be here in Toronto by the week-end of July 14-15. That or the next week-end would seem to me to be a suitable time. With luck we would have Barry's document back here with the revisions ready to be put into the internal bulletin by May 15 ~~XXX~~ so July around the same date would give us exactly two months. It would be invaluable to have him here with us during the convention.

I might add there is great enthusiasm for your and Barry's trip on the part of all the out of the way comrades to whom I have mentioned it.

We have reached agreement I think on the questions related to the minority. The recognition of the authority of the convention idea was not important. ~~XXXX~~ I just thought it would be a useful experience. Reg and Angus agreed but since you and Grenier disapprove I am agreeable to throw my vote in with yours and let it drop. Angus thinks we should let them publish anything they want. Both Grenier and I agree with this. They are going to anyway and ~~and~~ granting them the right will remove any tiny idea that they have been suppressed in any way. The idea of a limited statement would present considerable difficulties of censorship. They are washed up in the party---Angus writes "I say give them the floor until the convention closes and then let them abide by that decision whatever it may be. From what Ray tells me after visiting Vancouver it will do no harm."

We are finished with them. I think the last bulletin did a good job. An awful proof reading job was done on it but I think it adequately dealt with the matter. Your contribution is very good. I added the addendum only in order to provide us with a vehicle for those quotes on the CCF and the trade union bureaucracy and to scotch any idea that your contribution pointing out a line might have left in the mind of anyone that a valid political difference was really at dispute. We will be getting a bulky work to distribute one of these days. I gather from Katy that they are going to encompass in this work all the other contributions ...including the one you just answered and the one they pulled from Cannon's book. It's pitiful but it has its highly amusing aspects.

Grenier is settled now. Has a nice room. This is the first week he has been in town and he is working hard on a campaign to organize ~~XXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXX~~ a local plant. Haven't had much of a chance to get together to really discuss...mostly cafe bull-shit sessions but this will all be

arranged as soon as he gets more settled and hammers out a routine.
He likes the town and generally everything is fine. 2, 1951

Have you had a chance to drop in on those fellows who subscribed to the paper? Pretty good results eh. We will let it ride for a while then giving them another mailing. I suppose Grenier told you who they are. Do you have any pamphlets that you could take around and sell them in order to get into an effective discussion? Anxious to know is there is anything other than just a casual reader of the paper amongst them. Will send you any pamphlets you want been using spare time to walk the
Send us the Yugoslav letter. We are not in a position to send to any quantity of clothes but I have some stuff on hand which we could make up into a parcel. I be ready by this week-and for the three of us

Yes I think it would be a good idea if you can draw up something on the French Canadian question if it doesn't even go much further than pose various aspects of it. I discuss the convention date and try to fix one subject to the N.C. approval. I have received a letter from Henry

I am closing off as I want to get out to look over another area of the town for a headquarters. There are many vacancies but rents are high... places that we want don't even advertise. Barry's document back here with the revisions ready to be put into the internal bulletin by May 15. So July around the same date would give us exactly two months. It would be invaluable to have him here with us during the convention.

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The Revolutionary Workers Party
Canadian section of the Fourth International

May 6, 1951 ✓

To all branches and members at large
Dear Comrades;

The annual financial drive on behalf of the International falls due at this time of the year.

This year's campaign being conducted simultaneously in all sections of our world party has a purpose of cardinal importance. Funds raised are to be used to finance the Third World Congress of the Fourth International to be held sometime this fall. The success of this campaign will to a considerable degree determine the success of the Congress, financing delegates from more distant and financially pressed sections, etc. Everyone will fully appreciate the need to back the drive to the hilt.

We have set the Canadian quota at \$100---a quota which can not only be easily reached but can be oversubscribed. The campaign is for one month, from May 15 to June 15. Close party sympathizers should be approached for contributions. All returns ~~should be in~~ the hands of the N.O. within a week of the close of the campaign.

fraternally

R Dawson

Labor Challenge
62 1/2 Elm Street
Toronto 2, Ont.

August 6, 1951 ✓

M.O. Lingeman
4138 Av. Marcell
Montreal 28, Que.

Dear Friend;

In a round about way and several weeks after you mailed it we have received your letter requesting a sample copy of La Verite.

We regret to inform you that our Montreal comrades are no longer publishing La Verite. The publication of La Verite was quite a bit of an experiment to start with and we felt that the response that it got did not warrant the effort that went into its publication.

The subscribers we were able to obtain we found were almost, if not quite, as satisfied to read our English language paper Labor Challenge. La Verite is not dead however, rather it is in hibernation until our forces in Quebec are stronger and ~~ant~~ feel the response from the French speaking workers will be greater.

Until such time we have been switching La Verite readers who read English to Labor Challenge and those who desire to read French to Quatre-vingt Internationale. Our Montreal comrades turned your letter over to us so that we could send you a sample copy of Quatre-vingt Internationale. It is a theoretical journal and may be somewhat more difficult to read but we feel that it will more than amply reward those who make the effort.

We are enclosing under separate cover a sample copy of the Q.I. for your examination. It sells for 25 cents a copy and we would be pleased to put you on our list to receive it (\$1.25 for a year) every other month. We of course would be happy to receive your subscription to our English language paper Labor Challenge.

fraternally

Paul Kane

Thursday August 9th/1951 ✓

(Anti-Canada "Town")

Dear Gang;

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

The trip is certainly meeting all our expectations, particularly in Winnipeg. You will certainly have to spend more time there on your way back. Did you manage to have the meeting with the Hashomer Barry. Tipping is a real find and we will have to let him pull a Haywood for us on the way back. I am sure the last issue must have made a good impression on those COFFers who you met and will prepare a favorable atmosphere for our return.

I see from the post card to Ken this morning that you are past Regina. Arent you moving a trifle fast---faster than you had planned? I know of course that you must have discussed all the angles thoroughly--for instnace Jim writes that it will be hard to do anything in Wiseton as the crop ~~XXX~~ will be taking everyone's time up and I would imagine then that he would suggest you spend your time ~~an~~ the way back.

I see that it is highly probable that you will be hard pressed for money shortly, sleeping out and opening cans and all. Here is 20.79 that should take you somewhat further. It is hard to say what success you will have even when you get to places where we have comrades...I dont know how Jim and Lloydminster etc are fixed. At anyrate it is always a good thing to have extra dough. The 20.79 wont prevent you from putting on the same hard up grimace I hope you have been practising. On top of that it is your own money Murray...it is the amount you put out for the fixtures and the screw driver....so go ahead and have a good time eh-what...but remember beer is cheaper.

It is somewhat ironical isn't it...the good old spirit of free enterprise on your tail...you can always eat if you sell literature. You have done terrific in this sense, much better than I even thought could be done. Sorry we could not fill your request for more Debs, more Stalinism and anti Stalinism and more Cannon's Trial pamphlet. I thought I had a good stock here until you guys bit into it. It was good I see only on the basis of our usual business methods. I am writing away today to get Pioneer to fill the stock up again. I have managed to scrounge a little dough that will permit us to pay off part of our bill with them and at the same time order considerable more

I hope that literature, ahelp from the comrades you hit and the odd sum I can send you will keep you from having to help farmer Brown stocke. You know I am dead set against you guys working, we havent time, dont hesitate to send me a wire when you feel you are a day or so from having to do this. I am sure we can scrounge enough dough to make this unnecessary. I am sending you the 20 and Pioneer the 30 from some extra dough Jean gave us.

As you approach Vancouver it would be well to send Angus a letter telling him you are in. We must get him down to meet you. He sent in a letter here the other day which shows that some work must be done on him. quote;"However I will say now that I was considerably disturbed by the IB of the minority. If the bulletin is factual then we are weaker, particularly in T.U. members than I had supposed and the basis for the grievances in the Toronto Branch is not entirely in the ranks of the minority. That the

differences are of a personal nature is obvious from the documents forwarded here. Nothing has been added since the UE criticism of Rose. I trust that the convention has dealt with this problem and that both sides are now prepared to grow up..."

He wants Rose's address....he goes on to say "That our chief field is in the trade unions I have always maintained" after saying that he ~~generally~~ generally endorses the Political Resolution.. "I doubt that there was much disagreement." ~~But~~ He tells me that Ray has been offered a job by the Stalinists as an organizer for the Fisherman's Union...probably closer to the Vancouver area. Angus favors him taking it. I am opposed to him taking it. You know from previous letters Angus and I am sure this must hold for Ray are soft on Stalinism...you see he infers that Rose on the UE had a valid position which Rose and everyone else at the convention just let slip away. You see we have a strong revolutionary syndicalist tendency here which you must try to straighten up. And you know that this element has always existed in Vancouver.... the balmy climate of B.C.

Rosslund sent in a long long item dealing with the LPP and the theory of peaceful coexistence. He submits it for the paper. I have only had time to read it over once. Certainly shows he has been doing some serious reading and thinking. At the same time it shows his complete orientation to the Stalinist LPP....he and he of all persons with his terrific prestige in the CCF Left hasn't got our CCF orientation at all.. He is orientated towards the Stalinists. As a matter of fact the document is of a most disussion character..the type of item that a Worker militant in the Stalinist movement, with considerable theoretical understanding would under some rude event write in order to present to the party and even to the Leslie Morris party leadership. ~~That's the way~~ It is even more comradely and discourtesy in character than the stuff we used to write when we were in the C.P. itself let alone the Semi-Independent Left Opposition. I haven't written him about it for as you can visualize I haven't had the time..furthermore he probably has a copy of it and I am hoping you will be able to go over it with him. I intend to merely postpone publication until you can talk with him and see what he says.

What get me is that no one has said anything about my detailed discussion on what the Political Resolution means. Angus can say he imagines no one disagrees with it but that he is for a trade union orientation. Of course the Political Resolution was crystal clear...but my contribution was provocative. ...and no comments. We should hammer it

Well we got the lights on today---really excellent, the place is already warmer and dryer..the dampness must have been mostly psychological. Painting the store sunlight yellow. Progress is slow but we are getting there. I hope we have the whole place cleaned up by the Trotsky memorial meeting we are holding on the 20th. Branch life has been a trifle upset by holidays but we started the sub drive off last Saturday with a considerable success. Hugh, Dick, Jack, Ed and myself went out and we got 11 subs. We are going out tonight. Our quota of a 1,000 points I am sure it much too low. I think we will do very well. Tonight we will see if our ex-minority intend to do much..they don't appear to be very much interested aside from Joyce. My impression is that they are going to be very very quiet and inactive. At the last meeting Doug and Jim tried to put over a motion doing away with educationals on immediate problems at branch meetings and replace them with series on the Communist Manifesto and such. At the previous meeting Bill S had to rap Jim on the knuckles for giving voice to the idea that we shouldn't hold a Trotsky memorial meeting now with our CCF orientation. Of course what they do doesn't matter. Ken is all hopped up particularly since his return from the camp, Dick want to do this type of work so everything is fine.

Hope you liked the last issue of the paper. When the reset the front and back we picked up a few more typos, changed WHAT THEY SAID on the Garson ammendments to upper and lower...improved the impression on Barry's cut. Have you any particular ideas for the next issue. We didn't say anything about the Sask CCF convention in the last issue as the only thing we had to go by was the Tribune..the Sask CCF paper hadn't arrived. I can do with any ideas you have now as I must very shortly get to work on the next issue. Forgot to put the by line of the Buck article. How do you like the heads ..I tried to write them so that they would give just by themselves a rough idea of what we are about...the coldwell head, the Pac head, the Buck head etc.

How about dropping the old lady a line Murray...a letter. She is a little upset about the old man again. It seems when she saw him recently he made some comments that he as absolutely destitute...no so much of the old bull-shit about his big plans. And the old lady is somewhat upset, telling us that we have to do something. Havent had a chance to see yourfolks yet Barry either with the picture or the book. The picture should be ready anyday now and so I plan on phoning them up , making an appointments some evening and doing the job in one.

Must get this away now so that there is a chance ou will get it in Wiseton. Have sent you a budle of recent papers etc to Trail so you can keep up to date with what is going on . And dont forget I am against either of you working...wire me so I can see what I can do

warmest regards

Ross

Monday August 27, 1951

D. Brent (Vancouver visit)
Dear Murray and Barry;

Just received your phenomenal letter but I will take time out to give you a little ~~XXXX~~ gossip.

Went up to see your mother and father the other night Barry. Took up the photo which finally came through and the book ~~XXX~~. A most successful visit although your brother put me in a difficult position..then again of course the whole question of you and the party would certainly have come up anyway so perhaps Marvin was actually helpful. Of course your father was very friendly and before the end of the evening I would say your mother was also. At the opening of the session your mother addressed me as Mr Ross Dawson, can you hear the ice edge of it. She was quite frank in ~~XXXX~~ expressing her sharp opposition to the party---and to me--its symbol I suppose. But in the process of a friendly discussion about the movement and the individual and parents etc etc your father expressed considerable appreciation and sympathy for our viewpoint. Marvin in his naive way pointed out to your old man how he was expressing ideas at complete variation with everything he had said to you ~~XXX~~. Your mother sat in silent protesting your fathers betrayal of her and his last stands on occasion, each time a little more feebly. Marvin appeared to be very much pleased with the whole session. He is now sporting a beard, a sort of fringe ~~XXXX~~ that makes him look like Radek. By comparison the Trotskyist flaunting of tradition appears picayune. His stand on his beard plus the occasional dirt about your family to sustain comments I would make ~~XXXXXXX~~ set a most favorable background. Your mother is quite bitter about the movement, ~~XXXXXX~~ even more so than Mrs D for her opposition is tempered by a generally good social outlook, your mother is very personal. She is quite pleased with the photo of you. It came out fairly good--it is not the one that was used in the paper, although that is what I asked them to enlarge but one taken from an angle. From Marvin and your father we parted on most friendly, even warm terms, your mother broke down quite a bit and of course performed all the required graces. No doubt the whole to-do was well worth while from all points of view.

Don and Joan dropped in here on Saturday just fresh from a visit with Jeanette, Murray. She is fine and was all set to come in an visit us but she had to collect her unemployment insurance so could not leave. Don and Joan took Jeanette out, I think they stayed ~~XXXXXX~~ at 5175, a couple of nights, to a couple of night clubs etc. etc. She seems to ~~XXXX~~ be in excellent health and in good spirits although she very demonstratively huddled up all your Militants F.I.'s etc and shoved them this way with the statement that something had come in for you at the P.O. from England and she wasn't going ~~going~~ to go down and pay out good money to clear it. Jean thinks it is possibly the second volume of the Guerin book from France. I suppose I had better drop her a line to send me the card then write the P.O. to ship here to be cleared. The old lady seems to be in better spirits about the condition of her husband and your father. A couple of weeks ago the owners of his bovine informed him that he was going to have to get out within a couple of days. He rejected all aid financial and physical, to rescue his possessions and when last heard from had made a deal to sell out all the books at a nickel a copy. For a week or so Mrs D was desperate but during the last two weeks I have heard no mention of the problem. I gather the old man is now out, that he has probably saved only a handful of his possessions and living somewhere else...he did take \$35 from Mrs D. Possibly other things such as Jean and Lois' relations have taken the place of these worries.

He tells me that a new mill is going up in New Westminster and that he will try to get a job there. I believe that he really going to make a try at staying in the big city

Got a letter from one of the names that the IS asked us to send to Indonesia. The fellow asks that we should send the paper to 4 friends of his whom he lists 1 as a physician, 1 as an engineer and two as members of parliament of the communist party....all interested in the fundamentals of Trotskyism.

Also got a letter from Seattle the other day which starts off "The Vancouver comrades continue to be disturbed about a sentiment that they believe exists in the East for IMMEDIATE entry (ie, one to be executed within the next few weeks) They look upon the orientation towards entry into the CCF as the party taking its bearing and anticipating coming events!it continues to put forward some of the arguments that have been advanced in the PR and my document.....the last paragraph says..... "In Canada, (as distinct from Britain) there is neither the experience of a recent electoral victory which now poses the question "What Next"? nor has the CCF a very clear form. It is in the process of losing its old mode of existence based upon the territorial clubs---which over the years ceased to function as anything but electoral machines and now are ceasing to exist even in that capacity---and is in the process of shifting its organizational base to the unions....."

You will have to have a really serious talk about the CCF with these comrades...surely Whitney knows we do not view entry as immediate---the documents are clear on this point---although they do talk about the particular case in B.C. and I know that in various letters in the past while we have talked about the possible necessity of entry in B.C. in advance of elsewhere. I hope that your visit of some duration can once and for all get rid of that stuff "the sentiment that they believe exists..." I see again this stuff about the formlessness of the CCF arising. The rise of the PAC's in the East here is something added---it is not eliminating the constituency clubs. The last issue of L.C. report on the situation in Niagara is the joint concoction of the constituency club and local PAC body seems to me to be the picture of the future. I see no reason why the constituency clubs will disappear....here the CCF is not losing its old mode of existence---its adding something to it. Possibly some of the old Socialist Party CCF clubs like Stanley Park and the old Woodbine club---this type of club is tending to disappear...not a sorry thing at all for these groups were sectarian...anti trade union. Ah anyate what is the meaning of this talk ---are we to take a policy against working in constituency clubs.

Getting lots of enquiries about the time of your arrival from Trail, Magna Bay etc. You might ~~just~~ drop a line telling some of these points a few lines of your progress and the approximate time of your arrival.

About your last letter---all I can say is I KNEW YOU COULD DO IT. All ~~about~~ turning out excellently..keep it up. I will be sending you the literature tomorrow if I can get it cleared through with no delay. The forms came into the office today. Of course I may be held up by the RCMP for a few days but we should make Trail alright.

Terribel but I haven't yet really got started on the coming issue of the paper. taking it up seriously tomorrow. But here is a job for you to do. We need your column. We have talked it over and are of the opinion that your column should be separate and apart from the sub drive. I think we can do this since we have subs now from Vancouver and we can hope to get

get some from Windsor before the week is out. I think that is the type of thing you can manage to write in the next few days and get in right after the holiday week-end. I hope to get the paper out by the end of next week.

Glad to see that the financial situation has cleared up somewhat. I would gather you will be alright from here on into Vancouver. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I have pressed Angus to be sure to come down and see you, and to bring Ray with him. They should have some money. Now that you have managed to make such excellent connections in the CCF at various points I am all the more convinced than ever that we must take a leisurely trip back, possibly even more so than the one out...that we should return to work Winnipeg for several days etc. In other words time is now very valuable. Yes it is taking longer than we had expected and the weather begins to get miserable quite early in the Prairies. There can be no more working like we had to do at Jim's. We will send you out the money. Without providing you with a statement of our financial situation I will tell you that we have sold the public address system for \$150. So let me know when you need some money...the sky is the limit---the whole \$150.

All your successes with the CCF almost convinced me of the validity of our line....it should do a good job on Burton and such.

You are now approaching the Rockies..remember many of the peaks on your right have never been scaled even by seasoned conquerors of the Alps so take care of yourselves....make sure your breaks including the emergency are in good order before you pull out of Rossland---and dont forget my column having to be in here before the week is out.

warmest regards

Ross

Thursday Sept 6, 1951

D. Brent (West Coast Town)

Vic (Hugh?)

Dear Murray and Barry;

Just a note along with the enclosed letter. Suprised we haven't heard from you yet this week. Hope you dropped into the Edmonton post office. I sent a letter there for you. I am sure it was there ~~by mistake~~ when you arrived and it couldn't help but have been there on your way out of Moon Lake.

Took some copy to Ed on Tuesday morning and he tells me that it would be impossible for him to get the paper out this week so the fact that your column is not here yet is not yet a tragedy. Hope it will be here for sure by Monday. The paper being stalled I took a day off to get out a circular letter on the campaign, the Party Builder and to get the minutes off on the P.C.-N.C. meetings. When you meet Rosland, Angus Vancouver you should take the opportunity to talk to them in detail about the various items in the minutes and thereby stress to them the essentiality of their going over the minutes and recording their opinion on the various items---we have never been able to get in the past an intelligent participation of anyone but Reg in the work and decisions of the N.C.

Just in case it should slip your mind I think you should make every effort to see Lloyd Whalen while in Vancouver. I do not know just what the attitude of the Vancouver comrades to Lloyd is at this moment but after all he is the leader of the biggest local in B.C. and is politically a Trotskyist--we are very much interested in seeing if we can in some way link up our work here in the East IWA with the West. I think we have in the past been very dilatory in this sense but a visit can do much to move us a long way in forming a working relationship. Ladd here has the greatest respect for Lloyd.

Received a very warm letter from Genevieve about the proposal to move here. Raised the matter at the P.C. and last night at the Branch. Have several angles we are going to try to work, going to try and get Jim and Kit to rent a house. The whole thing is a difficult proposition, two kids, no job. It will be hard to find a landlord who will rent a place to someone who isn't even here and hasn't even a job in the city....we may have to have Claude come here first although this would make hardship for Genevieve even with Vic to help her--Well anyway we will do our best and as rapidly as possible. The only person who made any comment at the meeting was Arlene who thinks that it is impossible from their experience of looking around. Jimmy was working. I am going to contact Vic and others--see if we can get Ed looking although I know he won't be very good. When we get the paper off I will start to work on it. They will certainly be worth the efforts that we will expend.

Had better get this away and back onto the paper

Ross

September 27, 1951

Brent
Down (West Coast town)

Dear Barry and Murray:

What the hell is all this arse hole that and fuck up this stuff in this correspondence of yours. Why we will never be able to keep this stuff on the correspondence files for the archives. I know Marx or Engels was it used the word crap, but that is relatively respectable. John thinks it must be the balmy breezes of B.C. that hit you as you approached the Rockies and are now on the coast.

I want to write you long ago but I have been trying to squeeze every bit of time possible to put the final touches on the store. The paper is here again and once that starts you know nothing else is done. I can report that the store is now finished ---all we need now is the books, rather the money for the books. No I did not take a vacation I was working. I have tried to convince John that there is no such thing as a B.C. type or a balmy breeze that takes B.C.ers away from reality but if you raise this matter of a vacation once again I am going to be converted to John's viewpoint. Here we are putting out a paper without one of our two staff members and two or three articles per issue writer, missing; in the midst of a sub campaign which would have been a terrible fiasco without my participation, I had to get over half the subs; and trying to get a books store into operation. Quit this stuff will you!

You guys talk as if we had you to spare, that something of a revolutionary character had happened to the party following the convention. Alas you are wrong. You ask about Dick. Why I haven't seen him for it must be two weeks now, he along with Borland is important evidence in John's case about the balmy B.C. breezes. A very peculiar comrade, never has anything to say. His conduct at the convention is him. He did not get to the terrific meeting that we had for Myra although the night before he appeared to be certain to be in attendance, he hasn't made any of our three corn roasts, he has missed the great majority of the branch meetings with the incidence being almost 100 per cent since the branch asked him and he willingly accepted the assignment of an educational. He has done a couple of jobs on the paper- rewrite like the one of Mao and Stalin last issue and the edit on the Cdn Korean scandal, the latter I had to work real close with him and spend more time than I would if I wrote it myself. He is a man of such few words. He has definite possibilities, he is intelligent but he certainly is personally disoriented. As for the Carson amendments it is a joint work like the last editorial. I have him working on a historical sketch of Ginger Goodwin for the next issue, it may be more up his line...we will see. I think we are doing all that can be done along this line. As for John...well he is still very unsettled, a combination of love and his job. ~~His job has been~~ His job has been tying him up quite a bit. he has had to go to Montreal to help our friend consolidate some gains on numerous occasions, they have a ticklish situation at Wirebound and they have just lost a strike at Southampton, Add as you know has been away to the SCL convention. But we hope to start to develop a routine with regards to work and the question of his personal affairs I may report is approaching a settlement

The only really favourable development is Ken, not in the sense that he is able to give me aid in the routine that you will remember used to keep us hoping, he is very busy handling the Capital class, but he is really developing politically in all ways.

I see that this letter is going to be a windy one and rather disorganized but here we go.

It would be a good idea Murray if you were to write a couple of long and descriptive letters to Mrs D. I have just come from the hospital from a visit with her. Nothing terribly serious. She is looking well and intend to leave the hospital within a day or so but she had a stoek I guess it was a couple of days ago. Mrs Martin was walking.

up the street on Wednesday afternoon and discovered mother sitting on Lepages front steps. She did not know where she was. They took her to St Josephs. She tells me that she just doesn't remember anything after she crossed Indian road on her way back from shopping on Roncesvalles until she came to in the hospital bed. We haven't had an exact medical report but Lois was talking to the internes and they say she is fine. She looks quite well and is anxious to get back into the fight. Possibly this will convince her to slow down a bit. I am sure she would like to get a long descriptive letter from you. We are going to try and keep her in bed for a while. As a matter of fact I wonder if it wouldn't be a good idea to get Jeanette up here for a week. She could leave Montreal right after she collects her unemployment insurance and I am sure that between us we could scare up the 12 to 14 dollar bus fare. What do you think, Perhaps you would like to suggest it to her. A night letter would be able to explain the situation and she could leave this coming Monday. I believe that is the day she collects. Of course if she is working don't bother about it. It is really not important as I think that this was just an attack of a temporary character. But if Jeanette were here she could see to it that the old lady took it easy for a week anyway.

You set me back a little on the question of the proposal to ~~xxxx~~ change the minutes. That some of our NC members should still feel a curiosity or distrust? that they wish to keep in a few lines about why Joe and company withdrew their resolution and thereby change the orthodox and traditional character of minutes surprises me. That you ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ should think that it was proposed by John Ken and I out of sheer curiosity you might say (by god we are going to get it down so that our feeling that Reg's comments are recorded to be in our opinion contrary to the minutes surprises me a little also. This is quite a broad interpretation on your part. . . for at one place you say you can see no difference between the minutes as recorded and the proposed change. And you must remember that we went along with your policy

I might say first that in my opinion it is of some moment that the decision of the convention be recorded precisely. This was a bad error in my opinion that a proper written, considered resolution was not presented. There should be no question after a convention as to what we did do, what we decided, what was voted on, particularly when we know that there is an important (in size) grouping that opposed the line and its last minute conversion is debatable. However be that as it may we all know the situation and the reasons for the above negligence. But did we adopt the resolution, its general line. That in my opinion is an important question. Not at all from the point of view of Reg and Vancouver, what about our minority. The resolution doesn't say we did. And I must tell you now that the ~~xxxx~~ ex-minority says in effect that we did not adopt the line of the resolution. Sure Reg and other, even we, may say that Reg's contribution is in line with the political resolution. The minority may even say it but we know now in the Toronto branch that they do not believe it at all. A process of education can not tell comrades what was adopted at a convention. As a matter of fact the CCF work particularly in Toronto in the next period is not at all going to convince the minority of the correctness of the political resolution and my contribution. First they remain the main block of comrades working in the CCF as before. Second the immediate period of work ahead in the CCF is slow patient and on the surface unrewarding—of such a type that the experience in the next period is not going to convince them of their wrongness. ~~xxx~~ I am afraid that comrades to a hell of an extent have to be convinced by an ideological process—of course some profitable experiences in B.C. would go a long way. But the matter of whether we did or did not adopt the political resolution has to be in black and white.... Joyce's minutes do not say we adopted the resolution, they say this only if you accept the contention that Reg's contribution is in line with the resolution. This is being challenged, not formally yet it is true but in every other way.

In the light of the ambiguity of the minutes and what is developing all over again in the Toronto branch I must say that I dreaded the task of presenting a redraft of the political resolution. After you informed me of your objection to the change of the minute (I take it that you are reacting to Rosslund and what you think Vancouver's reaction is) I was thinking the matter over and had decided I would write you and suggest that in view of the situation here it would be really a ticklish job to redraft the resolution and that you should do it. I see we came to this conclusion simultaneously. I and I think Ken

and John are prepared to withdraw our proposal at once in favor of this idea. I don't see how the ex-minority can object to this proposal ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~. we will see what comes out of the re-draft, how they react to it.

Now you must be anxious to know what is happening in the Toronto branch. I will lead into this with some comments on your position re the editorial board. I would gather that you are opposed to the setting up of an editorial board outside of the P.C. that is that there should be some designated comrades who will have the deciding vote at editorial meetings, the rest of the comrades in attendance having no vote or only a consultative vote. I am in complete agreement in general with you but there is a situation here that in my opinion makes it advisable for us to set up an editorial board as we proposed in the minutes. From a practical point of view it means nothing—since I will be one of the members of the board, if we get into any dispute I can always take it off the table by saying that the P.C. will discuss it. We have only had one dispute in the past...with Joe over the UE-IWE material. He has only one vote and there are two other P.C. members who have the CCF line so I think this will be easy. I put this proposal forward as a concession to the ex-minority. I think it is a concession we can make, the only doubt in my mind being that it has elements of setting a precedent that ~~will~~ be used as a point of argument.

B.S. and the ex-minority have been waging an aggressive struggle in the branch over the past month and a half along the lines of this very question. You had not been gone long when he raised the idea that at the trade union fraction meetings, only persons with a union card can vote on question. He even broke it down further...only packinghouse comrades can vote on problems confronting packinghouse comrades, the same with IWA and so on down the line. We would have the situation where Myer alone could vote on the work on his union, Jean on IWA work and so forth. Comrades without cards, even though they were in shops were they were trying to organize a union or comrades who had the perspective of getting into an organized shop like Ken, they would have no vote at the trade union meeting. Of course everyone would have a vote at the branch meeting you will be glad to know that they scheme permits this. BS' big argument is that that is the way that they operate in the SWP. I have tried to tell him that that is probably true when let us say that the auto fraction from all across the country gets together and that there is no parallel to this in our tiny branch where the trade union caucus meeting is an expedient of trade union business that we cannot afford to clutter the branch meeting up with and an arena for the trade union comrades to more thoroughly educate themselves...to no avail. Well the old majority opposition opposed the ex-minority's proposal with great vigor and B.S. withdrew, had the whole to do tabled until he came to us with evidence in hand from the SWP. At that time the question of whether this idea applied to the CCF fraction was raised and BS assured everyone certainly not.

A week or so later we had the branch executive ~~elections~~ nominations. BS and the minority very vigorously demanded that we do not elect the executive at large—the five most able comrades but that we elect each post on an individual basis. open nominations for secretary and then elect the secretary and so on. Of course the old majority opposed this. As a last resort Ken moved that the matter be referred to the P.C. since it was of such a controversial character. This motion was defeated. Following the meeting and further arguments Bill changed his mind. At the next meeting he asked permission to withdraw his last motion that had been accepted. To a man the former supporters remained silent and it withdrawn and the elect ones went on as ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ they had in the past. ~~WAX~~ I might add that we went out of our way to elect an ex-minority executive. Other than they there is only Ken and Ed whom you know tends to be a minority man, governed as he is by his emotions and personalities.

Last branch meeting the attack took on a new scope. BS with the support of the executive but for Ken came down with the idea that at the CCF fraction meeting only CCF card holders will have the vote. Ken did a good job pointing out how ludicrous this was as with the TU caucus with this added to it..that the comrades who would have the vote would be the comrades who opposed the political resolution right up to the zero hour. ~~John~~ John did an excellent job of trying to teach these comrades something about the nature of a bolshevik party ~~as~~ I made a long and very conciliatory speech trying to

show them that even if they were correct in their contention that this was the way that a revolutionary party operates that in view of the situation they must concede that a deep feeling of unease can only arise from this proposal and that in the interests of cementing the unity of the party they should withdraw. Well Barry the arguments were the same stupid pile of crap and nonsense that we have heard in the past. We did not even touch them. When it was obvious that we had lost I made a motion that in view of the importance that this obviously was felt to have for the future of the branch and the implementation of our CCF orientation we should refer it to the PC and that they should write in the internal party builder material sustaining their idea that we should completely revise the organizational structure that the party has had for the past five years. The motion was defeated. After that Bill came in with a motion to table until he got us the goods on this from the SWP. The debate on their part was very aggressive and very sharp. Ed who gave the report quite frankly said that the reason why this change should be made is that comrades who were doing the CCF work wanted to be free from the interference of the rest of the comrades. did not want to be pushed etc. He supported the idea. Following the vote against referring to the PC I made a statement pointing out to them that this was in my opinion a vote of non-confidence in the leading body of the party. Of course the whole thing is an attack against the leadership of the party—they would be the ones who would be disfranchised, not being CCF card holders..and in my and Barry's case not being trade union card holders.

I am taking this up on the 28th.

So in my opinion we should let the editorial committee go as we proposed and not rescind this P.C. proposal. With regards to the question of the CCF and trade union fractions I intend to suggest to the next P.C. meet that the PC ask the Toronto branch to defer taking any action on this matter and request that the executive draw up an article for the internal bulletin motivating their recommendation. for a rounded discussion in the party. This is the best possible way to handle it in my opinion—it puts the responsibility on their shoulders.

I think I told you in my last letter about Joe's long internal educational on the PAC's in which while ~~XXXX~~ appearing to be presenting the problem that confronts us in working in the PAC's was in every way an attack on the ~~xxx~~ new orientation on seriously working in them with confidence that this was the direction of the building of the party. According to him the PAC's are cess-pools of reaction. The Ginger group may be in operation again shortly. ~~xxx~~ Sanderson met Ed at a CCF council meeting and raised the matter with him saying he would call a meeting of the executive. Incidentally Sanderson is now an Alderman—the raised him when they filled the empty controller seat with that Ward's Alderman. I gave a little talk when this was reported about how we must get into this situation and try to shape it into an educational forum for the Toronto area etc. Joyce made strenuous objections—the past elements were no good, we should wait and see etc etc. Last Wednesday when I was talking to her following the meeting she told me when I mentioned our new orientation that she had not changed her opinion in any shape or form of what the CCF was.

So you see it appears that the new orientation is going to be killed in the Toronto branch not by a frontal assault but by whether its conscious or unconscious, sabotage. Unfortunately they will be able to convince themselves of their rightness due as I said before to the difficulties that confront us in this work.

There is nothing to be alarmed about of course—the minority never was anything and unfortunately it is proving itself to be more and more nothing, incapable of learning anything. ~~XXXX~~ But I think we are in for the repeat performance of the last two or three years. All I hope is that this time if we prove unable to do anything with them and ~~we~~ it really develops that we are through this trip laying a certain ground work for the job we may have to do... that we don't have any more Whitney air flights to handle the Rose case, any more reactions such as we got from Rosalund and from PR.

I hope Angus is able to get down to see you. I don't know how you can do it but he must really be given shit. Did you meet Ray? A very fine comrade but unfortunately used at the TLC convention and generally speaking this seems to be true in the PR fish local by the Stalinists as a tool. When he was sitting here in the office one day talking the convention with me Joe Meslin walked in. When I introduced Ray to him he was flabbergasted. He said that he was convinced that Ray was a Stalinist..it appears that he sat opposite Ray all during the convention and Ray did not differentiate himself from the Stalinists in any way shape or form. You know he was flown in as a substitute for Gordon when he was barred from the convention. The Stalinists use him effectively as a cover man for themselves. Some of the stands he took are out of this world..he moved a motion to lift the ban on the CSU according to Meslin. I had several long talks with him about his work and the problem of fighting against the Stalinists. He is very quiet but I feel confident that I convinced him that our whole line in PR is off the beam. He is now enthusiastic about the CCF orientation for he tells us that the only opposition was CCF, that it was large and progressive and that from this experience he is convinced that an effective working CCF opposition in the TLC is going to be formed. I raised the matter of the CCF in PR. He tells me that there is an ex-IWW ~~member~~ who is a CCFer and a personal friend of his who has been pushing him to join the CCF. He thinks Angus and Dave could get back in even though they formally broke. PR is over 50 per cent CCF. The club is active on a low plain, its leader is the president of the TLC council whom Ray has some respect for as a leftist..a leftist in words but not in action. When I posed the question of him taking a card and seeing what could be done towards building a CCF fraction in the local with which to fight the Stalinists he appeared quite enthusiastic. The Stalinists have been pushing the local to endorse the peace petition, he managed to defeat this. The elections may be coming off shortly and it is possible that the Stalinist will push the local to support some Liberal etc. He already works in CCF elections as has Angus and he has been instrumental in turning over the union office to CCF campaigns. Angus of course has a pro-Stalinist orientation—that may be a little harsh but that is about all I could get out of his various comments. At anyrate he has shown no signs of carrying out the CCF orientation. I raised the matter at some length and he did not say a word about it in his last note.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I feel a little uneasy about your outline of work for Rosslund. He is the biggest CCF left winger ~~XXXXXXXX~~ in B.C., he has the respect of all kinds of leftist elements. In my opinion he has to be kept clean, free from any taint of the party. We want to use him, he is a big man, I don't see why we should take the risk of marking him for some nebulous Trotskyist work in Trail, particularly at this stage of the game.. when we are thinking of pulling him out to Vancouver. Of course the orientation cannot be applied mechanically to every situation and every comrade. I gather that he puts forward the idea that in Trail the CCF is completely discredited. I seriously doubt this and the basis of my doubts is from ~~XXXX~~ his own letters. In a recent letter he told me that the CCF left has taken over the Mine Mill local. I would gather that his contention that the CCF is discredited is based on the Mine Mill-Stell affair. It may well be that many CCFers are discredited but workers know that the local MPP CCFer Nimsick openly supported Mine Mill. I don't know whether during your short stay you were able to get the feel of the situation and my opinion is based on a general picture of the Cdn scene plus Rosslund's letters but Rosslund himself from his letters is a most erratic and confused comrade, whose analysis, whose viewpoint is really subject to the strongest doubt. You know our past correspondence with him. This of course may be your own opinion as all you have sent me is minutes drawn up from a meeting with him.

With regards to you staying there Barry. Don't let the sorrowful tale of Toronto enter into the situation as a matter of fact the best thing that could happen would be that they really start moving publicly in the party while you or ~~XXX~~ both of you is there. As a matter of fact I am going to push the executive to draw up something on their proposals for the internal bulletin as soon as possible so that we can utilize it in the education of comrades. But there are a couple of angles to consider which you no doubt have. The elections here in Toronto. If Barry stays in Vancouver and Murray goes to

Windsor we cannot go into the elections regardless of whether we have the money or not. If we accept that and the only question that remains is do I think that I can continue the work of the party without Barry being here for such a period of 6 or seven months then I am agreeable. Even though this is quite an imposition on me I am quite ready, even enthusiastically prepared to accept it, as you know I consider the development of you Barry one of the most important things for the party and I am sure that it would be a good experience in all ways.

The World congress has taken place as you have possibly read in the Militant. Our party and I have been honoured by a post on the International Executive Committee. We should go ahead with the discussion however for it obviously can be more complete and valuable in detail on the NC plane.

Re your comments on the tour. Received your column Barry just as we were going to press. We could have used it. It is an excellent item but Ben John and I were unanimously of the opinion that it was just not what was needed. I never expected to get such a general fundamentalist type of column. I expected a newsy report of the tour, who we met, impressions of the Cdn political scene so forth and so on with one of two simple ideas put across. I am sorry that we did not ~~have~~ appear to have had a discussion on it before you left. This must have been another occasion when I think that I told you something or that we talked over something and we didn't. I think we were absolutely right in not printing it despite the flurry and trouble that it must have put you.

But we could not print nothing. All our readers are really interested in the tour. Everyone I meet asks me about it so we felt we had to say something. I see your evaluation of the column is quite different from ours. I have reread the report on the tour and the sub campaign report and I still think that they are inspiring and not exposing of a weak condition of Trotskyism in this country. I guess the matter hinges on what you and I think workers think our party is in strength and political effectiveness. I am myself convinced that our readers and workers generally think that we are a pitiful little group, that is in numbers ~~AMERICAN WORKERS~~. We only publish a monthly, we raise only \$1500 dollars, our last sub drive announced only two hundred new readers in an editorial. we list only two addresses other than Toronto in that box in our paper. etc etc. I reread the report on the tour; re the mail mix up, it doesn't rebound to your discredit it seems to me for it is said that you have so much to tell. The amount of subs and literature...well I think it is colossal, it was used because John thought it was colossal and of course it was one of the few facts we could talk about. Your comments about the campaign exposing that we have only two branches sort of took me by surprise. I see that we did not publicize the last campaign, we did not even announce it, at its close we wrote an edit to 200 new subscribers. It never even entered my mind that we were not going to publicize this campaign. I don't know why because as far as the branches were concerned by themselves I did not expect big results—possibly I took into account the tour which I visualized would set all the members at large into action and anyway the sub work of yourselves in the various localities would fill it out. The point system I must have thought will fill it out also to make the paper report better. I will have to stop thinking to myself as you see for everyone let me go ahead at the editorial meeting to allow for room in the previous issue of the paper and no word was said about how we would handle it. Once doing that of course we were committed and when I wrote that part of the column-John wrote the tour—your viewpoint never entered my head. We are of course all the more committed now to talk about the details of the campaign in the next issue..I will work over it carefully to see that it is more in tune with the feeling that you express

This issue of the paper. I have asked Ray to work on a report on the TUC convention. I had hoped to get him started here but Myra came in etc and he said he would commence working on it on the train. I asked that he should go over it with you when in Vancouver and then mail it in ~~for the next issue~~. He is sure can give a very fine general report. Now I hear that you were at many of the CCL sessions. No doubt you have written or are working on an extensive analysis of the convention. We are expecting such an item from you, the sooner the better. We need something on your tour for this next issue three pages or so. In my opinion it should be along the line of impressions,

about who you met, you could talk about Jim not giving his name etc about the CCF in Saskatchewan ~~the~~ any meetings you managed to hold (gather we are holding one in Vancouver).etc.

I would like the deadline to be the 6th if you can possibly handle it.

There is lots more but it is noon and I must take up some other work. I will make every attempt to write more often. The financial drive is on---the letter will be out shortly. Hope you can show Vancouver that money can be raised outside the party. On the basis of the past such money will be all gravy and we should be able to use it for the tour. We will have to take the decision on Barry staying there, if we decide otherwise I hope we dont have to sell the car. We should be able to finance the trip back alright . If necessary very shortly I should have some money I can send you.

Well look after yourselves you are all we 've got

warmest regards

Ross

INTERNAL BULLETIN

Volume III No.2

September, 1951

Minutes of the Second National Convention
of the Revolutionary Workers Party, 19511 ✓

Memorandum on the Criteria for a Workers' State
and the Class Nature of China....J.V. Kelly..... 3

ROSE

Issued by
THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY
OF CANADA

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY
CANADIAN SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
JULY 14, 15 & 16, 1951
TORONTO, CANADA

The National Secretary, Comrade Ross Dowson, opened the convention and welcomed the delegates representing the Canadian party. He read greetings from our English comrades who extended sincere wishes for a successful convention.

The convention approved the Convention Committee which consisted of Comrades Fitzgerald, chairman, Grenier; K. McAlpine; Susan Joyce; Bill Thompson.

Comrade Bill Thompson was chairman. Comrades Susan Joyce and C Richards were appointed secretaries for the convention.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

Comrade Fitzgerald reported that the following delegates credentials were in order; Vancouver representatives; C. Richards, Bill Thompson and W-

Toronto representatives; J.V. Kelly, Kit Davids, alternate Susan Joyce
Barry Brent, K. McAlpine, alternate R. Dowson

Montreal Representatives; T. Fitzgerald

Windsor representative; Hugh Stevens, alternate Don Mills

Fraternal Delegates; Paul Abbott (U.S.)

Grenier and R. Dowson (N.C.)

CONTROL COMMISSION

Comrade Fitzgerald gave the Control Commission report which recommended the reinstatement of the Minority with full rights of membership and the wiping of the slate clean of the faction fight in the Toronto Branch. The Control Commission then recommended the censure of Comrade J.V. Kelly for his uncomradely activities in the Toronto branch and all comrades in the Toronto branch should work together as loyal comrades to the betterment of the party and the class. The vote was recorded as follows; Delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal 3 for 0 against, observers unanimous.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Comrade Brent presented the "NC General Political Resolution."

It was moved, seconded and carried we adjourn for lunch

Comrade Grenier was chairman for the afternoon session

Comrade W- spoke on R. Thorne's contribution, "Some Comments on the Political Resolution." The chairman ruled this document be discussed at the same time as the "NC General Political Resolution" and "The Minority Resolution on Party Tasks and Perspectives."

Comrade J.V. Kelly presented "The Minority Resolution on Party Tasks and Perspectives." The floor was opened for discussion.

Comrade Susan Joyce moved and Fitzgerald seconded the motion to adjourn and reconvene Sunday morning at 10 a.m.--carried.

SUNDAY MORNING, July 15th

Comrade Fitzgerald was chairman. The entire session was devoted to discussion on the political resolutions.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON July 15th

Comrade Fitzgerald was chairman. After all the comrades had spoken on the political resolutions once, Comrade J.V. Kelly withdrew "The Minority Resolution on Party tasks and Perspectives"--in order to maintain unity of line and not tie the hands of the N.C.

Comrade Brent moved we accept the "NC General Political Resolution" and accept R. Thorne's suggestions in the document "Some Comments on the Political Resolution" and turn these over to the new NC which will set up an editorial sub-committee to re-draft the resolution to incorporate these suggestions. Comrade Hugh Stevens suggested more clarification regarding the partial war economy, page 4 paragraph 33. The "NC General Political Resolution" with changes noted was voted on as follows; Delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal delegates 3 for 0 against, observers unanimous.

ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

Comrade R. Dowson gave the national organizational report. The report was discussed. The chairman adjourned the meeting to be re-convened at 10 a.m. Monday.

MONDAY MORNING, July 16

Comrade J.V. Kelly was chairman. Further discussion on the Organizational Report followed. Comrade D. Mills moved the Immediate Organizational Tasks on the Agenda be taken up under the Organizational Report. Seconded by E. Brent. The vote was recorded as follows; delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal 2 for 0 against observers unanimous. Comrade Fitzgerald gave a report on the Immediate Organizational Tasks which included the national tour of approx 1½ months for two comrades; national sub campaign; intensify literature sales and internal educationals. These were all recommended to the new N.C. Comrade R. Dowson moved and C. Richards seconded we adjourn--carried.

MONDAY AFTERNOON, July 16

Comrade Fitzgerald was chairman. Further discussion on the Organizational Report and Immediate Organizational Tasks followed. As the time was short the Convention Committee recommended all comrades who haven't spoken be allowed 10 minutes to speak--carried.

"Organizational and Constitutional Resolution" presented by Steven R. was discussed. Comrade R. Dowson moved we refer the parts of this document, except the party name and party press name, to the incoming N.C. and that the R.T constitution be redrafted taking into consideration Steven R's suggestions and the SWP constitution. Susan Joyce seconded the motion. The vote was recorded as follows; delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal 2 for 0 against, observers unanimous. Comrade W- moved we reject the Steven R. suggestions regarding the name of the party and party press. Seconded by C. Richards. The vote was recorded as follows; delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal 2 for 0 against, observers unanimous.

NC ELECTIONS

Comrade W- moved we have a NC of 9 members and a PC be elected and drawn from the NC-resident in Toronto. The vote was recorded as follows; delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal delegates 2 for 0 against, observers unanimous. The NC nominated the following; Grenier, K. McAlpine, B. Brent, R. Dowson, J.V. Kelly (all P.C.) R. Thorne, Fitzgerald, W- and P.R. Comrade W- nominated Steven R. as alternate NC member. Comrade R. Dowson seconded the motion. The vote was recorded as follows; delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal 2 for 0 against, observers unanimous. The comrades nominated to the NC were elected by the convention by acclamation.

CONTRAL COMMISSION ELECTIONS

The NC nominated the following; E. Dale, Bill Munroe and Hugh Stevens. Comrade R. Dowson moved we accept the nominations. Comrade D. Mills seconded the motion. The vote was recorded as follows; delegates 9 for 0 against, fraternal 2 for 0 against, observers unanimous.

FRENCH CANADIAN QUESTION

Comrade Grenier gave the report on the French Canada question. It was moved, seconded and carried that the report be accepted and that this report is considered to open the discussion on the question. Comrade Grenier is assigned the task of writing a document on this subject.

It was moved seconded and carried that this convention send greetings to the International Secretariat.

It was moved, seconded and carried that this convention send greetings to Natalia Trotsky with the hope that she will return to the Fourth International

Wednesday October 3, 1961

Dear Murray and Barry;

Just a line to let you know that I received the article on the CCL convention this morning and to pass on a few other odds and ends before I get bogged down on the paper.

I suppose you received my lengthy letter (addressed to Reg's home) in the mail just after you ~~forwarded~~ forwarded the article. Did you manage to locate the letter I sent to Edmonton?

We did a mailing to about three hundred Sask names and addresses in the hopes that we would hit something that might be of use to you. Of course if you sell the car and only Murray returns at this time you won't be able to work on our results but here are our first responses. Will send you the other as they come in as I am not too sure when you plan to be coming East. I suppose you notice that they had a big snow in Alberta recently. Joseph Schentag, Esterhazy, Sask
Jerry Avram, Mayville, Sask.

You Barry had better drop your folks a line. Your father phoned me up on Sunday--I was out for a coffee when he first phoned and he phoned back to the house in his anxiety as much as Maria telling Lois that she was trying to hide me from his contacting me. Had a friendly chat in the course of which I advanced the ~~XXXXXX~~ opinion that you were so busy that you had not been able to squeeze in the time in all probability. In my comments along this line I mentioned that you had probably taken a job. In response to this he told me that you would never tell him this if it were so. So you may get a bit of a ribbing because of my being so candid. By now Murray I assume you have dropped Mrs D a line. Last night was the first time that she looked back to normal. She will be coming home today in all probability and Lois has arranged to get Betty down to look after her for a week or so. On previous visits she would just lie there, anxious to get out of the hospital but obviously in too tired a condition to be allowed out. Last night ~~she~~ we found that she had given her fellow ward members a two hour discourse on Davenport Church and District and was her usual sprightly self. But she would appreciate a note. Jerry was down to Montreal on the weekend, took Jeanette out, says she is fine and is laying the law down that she will go to Toronto but not to Windsor.

Toronto made its sub drive quota. We are now about to start on the financial drive. Will credit the five dollars you sent from Baxter to the Vancouver financial drive.

No Paddy is not in the branch. I called on him several times then about two and a half weeks ago he came around. I had a heart to heart talk with him. I don't think there is much we can do to get him in. He is giving no political reasons of any kind. The only basis of his stall is that according to him both Joe and Hugh have called him a renegade. I told him that this of course was not the reasoned opinion of either of these comrades. My own opinion from what he says is that he doesn't give a shit what Joe says about him for he has no use for Joe--he considers that Joe doesn't know what it is all about. As for Hugh I think that Hugh hasn't any high place in his estimation and that he knows that Hugh did not mean it at all. I was thinking over the idea that we could ask these comrades to apologize but I am convinced that it would serve no purpose...that this isn't the real reason why he is not back with us. I had supper with him and a few other comrades the other night and I told him when I had him by myself for a few moments that I expected him to attend the next branch meeting. He came to the 1st corn roast and got lots of attention. I think he will have to come by himself. As for Johnny. I went up to see him on Shaw a couple of times (I had lost the phone number) He was not in either time and now ~~XXXX~~ it turns out that he was not even living there when I called. I gather there must be another Johnny in the house. The other I met his wife and child on the street car and got their new address from her.

I phoned him on Thursday last to invite him to the corn roast. Had a long and pleasant talk with him. He was most enthusiastic about the roast and said that both he and his wife would be there. They didn't turn up. You know he has no sub so I had sent him a couple of copies of the paper first class to the old address. He received them and when I asked him about them appeared to have read them, he said that he had given one of them to a neighbour who seemed interested. I will go up and see him when I first have a chance. It appears from what he says that the notice for the Myra meeting was not forwarded to his new address. He promised he would be down to our new headquarters and asked me the address again. ~~When~~ Last month I sent him a friendly note telling him about our new place and urging him to come down to see us.

Will be sending you the minutes of the last P.C. meeting shortly. Don't worry about the Trail difference we have. Received a letter from him on Saturday telling us that he was up to his neck in the CCF again and that he is Educational Director of the Trail club. Not a word about independent RWP work but lots of requests for aid in drawing up courses and a question as to whether he should join in the Stalinist civil rights outfit. We must get him out of Trail into Vancouver in my opinion, i.e. the sooner the better. He is too valuable and too erratic to leave alone in Trail.

Why dont you ~~RLX~~ write more often...tell me what you are doing what you are thinking. Of course I dont know when I would be able to reply but I would like a few slices of life occasionally.

with warmest regards

Ross.

as one cannot do by mail and all the documents in the world with this comrade that he is wrong. Of course I am not suggesting that we lay the law down to him. But I might ask after this episode to whom does the CCF entrust orientation, to what part of the party does it apply in any way today. Your comments to the PC say very clearly as I read English that the perspective in Trail is not to work in the CCF at all.

You made a few comments about Prince Rupert in your October 6th letter. "We had a long talk about Prince Rupert, reconciled ourselves to the fact that Angus wouldn't move and the more realistic perspective was for them to do real party work in PR." Very terse of course as it is not meant in any way to be a report or to pose any problems for discussion but....the more realistic perspective was for them to do real party work in PR...well. ~~When Ray was here I raised the matter with him. He told me in no uncertain words that as a party (independent that is) we had no perspective in PR. We had no close contacts worth talking about. You know when I was last there I tried to get a class rolling. I have raised this matter on numerous occasions and through our failure to get any results along this line came to the conclusion that Ray affirmed. I asked Ray about the CCF, he told me that 50 per cent of the vote in PR is CCF. The club is active, not any too good but Black who is the president, the guy whose wife was making a play for Archibald as rumour had it, who is president or secretary of the TIC council there is a leftist as Ray put it he has left ideas but when it comes to taking a stand he isn't there. The only contact Ray mentioned when he was here and I probed him was a CCFer in his local. This guy is an ex Wobbly who has been trying to get Ray to join the CCF. When Ray left here he had the orientation of joining the CCF, of talking this matter over with Angus and Dave and laos another fellow ~~xxx~~ Adcock. He told me this fellow Adcock who was with us when we were in the CCF would probably join again if he did and that he thought it highly possible that Dave and Angus could get back in. It seems that when they broke they did not make any declaration for the RWP, appeal.. but walked out. In my opinion we ~~don't~~ have any perspective on real party work in PR" if by this is meant RWP work as the RWP. We have had this orientation for 5 years and the results are zero...why my impression is that Ray, Angus and Dave have only the most casual relationship with one another. My impression after talking with Ray is that our comrades should be in the CCF there but I gather from your comments that the new orientation doesn't apply in any immediate meaningful way to PR.~~

Somewhere back the Vancouver comrades had a debate with the Stanley Park club. At the time I wrote them that in my opinion it was not a particularly desirable position for us to be. As I recall at the time we had no particular possibility of getting anyone to our party through it---no one in the CCF was talking about joining the RWP..but we at that time were talking about joining the CCF. We were put in the position of demonstrating our differences with the Left wing that was developing...we debated Weaver at that time I think...not in the position of aiding the left in their fight against the RIGHT. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I wrote Ray that I thought that our task was to try and identify ourselves more and more with the Left---the task was not to make differentiations but to get the Left moving and make ourselves acceptable as much as possible...to put ourselves in the most friendly light...to unify the left on a low political plane and for our party at this moment independent to appear as much as possible to be part of the

Left. At that time and subsequently when we were working in the Socialist Fellowship I told Reg that we did not desire to make sharp differentiations within the Left, even though we knew that there was a mile between us and the Young's etc. Reg never said anything about this as far as I can recall. As a matter of fact at the time I thought that the Young's etc pulled this off as a maneuver against us. ...that they ~~intentionally~~ wanted to clear themselves of the charge of Trotskyism ..and of course this is an excellent tailor-made way to do so...and of course we had everything to gain by having the charge of Trotskyism flung in the air and kept there by the Coddwell gang.

I would tend to believe that these arguments if they were right then are right now only more so. I seriously question the advisability of our having had that debate with Mason and Young. ~~EXCEPT~~ I get the impression that you must have had some hesitation because you Barry in your letter of the 5th pose whether it was advisable to have tangled with Steeves and Young from the floor at a previous Stanley Park meeting. I think you were certainly right to hit them from the floor but I strongly doubt if it was tactically correct...within the framework of the new orientation to have debated party to party with Stanley Park leftists

This is of course not very vital but I have been looking for some comments in your letters as to how we see the new orientation ~~and~~ and its application in so far as Vancouver is concerned. For some while I have believed that we should enter in Vancouver...if Reg, Ruth and Bill and Lil could get in I would say let's do it tomorrow. ~~EXCEPT~~ No doubt you have discussed this matter in the greatest detail with the comrades but I hope you can appreciate it if I feel a little uneasy about your line...what with the evidence (and I concede I may be misinformed, may be drawing things etc)...

I'm not here talking about our ability to convince the comrades ..it is possible that we may not be able to do anything about this due to several factors...I am talking about whether we are really attempting to implement the new orientation. In my opinion the new orientation means really trying to convince Trail, PR and Vancouver that they should be in the CCF NOW, years listen patiently to all their comments in opposition to this, but to be sceptical about the validity of the arguments. I believe that the new orientation poses some practical tasks before the party and particularly before these mentioned groupings of it. I feel that you on the basis of the above are too soft...in the sense that perhaps you have too much of a tendency to I was going to say conciliate..but to accept the idea that well maybe this new orientation for a series of reasons doesn't apply, here, nor here nor here...and before we know it the damn thing has no application in so far as the party is concerned.

~~and~~ In your October 6th letter you Barry say; yes you are right, there is an element of distrust in their attitude. Their main angle is not to give Rose an angle to spout off on, but mixed in with that is a feeling that you are too hard on tactical details if the entry orientation and that you still believe Reg's document to be a radically opposition document."

So I am too hard on tactical details of the orientation eh. Will what evidence is at our disposal. Now of course you have my comments on the question of our debate with Stanley Park. ~~XXXXXX~~ But there is also other evidence...lots of it. As you know well Barry the Vancouver comrades resisted getting into the Socialist Fellowship for a long time. It was quite a pleasing revelation when we heard that we had some comrades in it. As you know we had disagreements on their conduct in there. We presented a resolution to the Ginger group against ~~the~~ conscription generally from the point of view that the troops were not going ~~to be used for the defence of Canada but for imperialist purposes~~ to be used for the defence of Canada but for ~~imperialist~~ purposes which the Canadian masses had no interest in supporting. Reg you know presented a resolution on conscription to the Fellowship via Bray and one of our comrades Alex's wife that came out against conscription from a straight revolutionary defeatist point of view. Their line on the Fellowship has been from what I heard of it very contradictory but generally in my opinion not that in conformity of an entry but fraction work

~~Bill~~ Bill's viewpoint was clearly expressed by the Seattle letter written after we should note his lengthy stay here where he had a real opportunity to see what the East really thought on this question. ~~XXX~~ I have sort of got lost here but what I want to say is that generally in my opinion the Vancouver comrades don't have the entrism orientationthat is in any meaning of the orientation, that it means anything in our practical tasks---a distant affair after all you know.

It well may be of course that I am completely wrong, that there is no meaning in the new orientation for PR, Trail, Vancouver, and of course as you know I have been of the opinion that from the point of view of disposal of forces we have in Toronto are doing all that can be done...the task here is that of getting the comrades to really enter into the spirit of the whole thing. Maybe the orientation towards entry is only a matter of generally reordering a situation that is developing before us, that will in the future as yet undetermined pose the matter of complete entry to us. It seems to me from the evidence of your letter re PR, Trail that this has become your general opinion. If this is so you know what this means to me---that we have been guilty of raising a matter which we had no business of raising as we did...that we have been guilty of to some degree disorienting the party, for timing on such matters is of great importance.

Yes...I still believe Reg's document to be basically in opposition to the PC document. And here how it is in my opinion. You cannot reorient a party towards entry of a long term character into a movement which you hesitate to say it and will be the line of march for labor. The document hedges on what for me is key for it to take a clear line on. The question of what the CCF is and where the workers are and where they are going when you are talking about galvanizing a group of people into action has to be clearly stated in my opinion. I don't know whether Marx and Engels had doubts about the immediacy of the revolution in 1848 or not but you center into revolutionary action that is effective if you put forward all kinds of doubts and reservations. What comes out of Reg's document I asked at the convention. You know I curbed my talk because we agreed....in my opinion all this stuff about PR and Trail comes out of it. ...till it spreads from those points and we find that it doesn't apply anywhere, with any meaning at this period. What does Reg's document mean for the party, that is the big question. Joe can talk all he wants about being reserved in predictions...predictions are good and valuable in my opinion when it comes to making

his predictions are good and valuable in my opinion when it comes to making predictions as ~~whether~~ the Labor Party will win the coming election but when you are talking about orienting a party. It is no accident that Joe switched over to Reg's document. It expresses in a more sophisticated way many of Joe's feelings. It was just completely opportunist this switch. Are the ~~wor~~cks going to go through the CCF or arent they. Joe says maybe the CCF has been by-passed. Reg says maybe they will and maybe they wont, probably they will however. Then I must ask what is the meaning of this reservation what does it mean for our party. ...Reg doesn't say. But I think we are getting a sample of what it means. To act effectively I think you have to have complete confidence in your course and in your analysis. Of course allowing for a possible Tail. Hansen said and Joe picked it up in his reasons for his withdrawal of his document. the NC needs a free hand. What Reg's document does is give everyone a free hand. The party is not armed for action, to intervene in the process...it is riddled with doubts, there is all kinds of allowances for this persons and that person, this group and that branch.

Yes I hope that you comrades are able to convince Reg when working on ~~the resolution~~ THE revision of the PC resolution that ~~his~~ he is wrong. Of course a correct resolution doesn't solve anyting (a fight around one does) Life is going to solve these problems of ours. I am not suggesting that beating Reg down in the redraft will clarify anyone other than Reg...what we will get is an opposition viewpoint from Joe---that the re-draft isn't in line with the decision of the convention.

I know that this letter is rather confused...I ~~have~~ started to write it Friday after I came back from the printers and I had been up late the night before. I am finishing it off Sunday afternoon. I am down in a messy headquarrets. Yesterday Dick and I calcimuned the back room and ~~now~~ I am now ready to polish off the inner office. Will have to do it tomorrow if we hope to get the headquarters cleaned up by Wednesday. Had to work well past 12 last night to get what is done done.⁶

But it will serve its purpose....to express my feeling of uneasiness about certain things that have cropped up your correspondence. Everything I may have said above may be strethiong things, drawing things. Be that as it may. Of course I would not wr te anyone but you two such a letter (belive me I did not write the Pattersons about their not joining the party because of fear of the RCMP, I wrote Vic , it was supposed to be confidential to a more albe comrade to see what he could do to rectify the situation) Tear it up after you both read it. Dont bother to answer it. Having said it ~~in my opinion~~, you reading it, thinking it over and taking out of it what you think is worth while is enough for me.

Incidnelty I am rather embarassed to have to tell you this but I had better do it now as it will have some bearing on when you will be leaving to return to us...I got so tied up that I postponed going down to the City Hall to see if my name was on the voters list. I finally went a couple of days past the deadline and found that everyone in 87 King was wiped off and we are not on at 62 $\frac{1}{2}$. I am embarrassed because I am opposed to our going into the elections, we havent the money or the forces and it wont in anyway improve the situation as to the internal problems of the branch, we tried it before for this reason, and it might be thought by some that it was purposeful derelection. It is unfortunate that we cannot decide the matter now on its merits...that it has been decided in such a way. However.

There were many other matters I wished to take up with you but I will write either Wednesday or Thursday. Did you get your coat Murray. I was suprised that you had not recieved it when you sent your last letter to Mrs D. I mailed it right after your postcard to Mrs D reminded me.

Got an excellent response form our Sask mailing of about 200 copies...I think we picked up 6 subs all told. How do you like the last issue.

Warmest regards

Ross

October 31, 1951

Dear Barry and Murray:

I am really suprised that you have not yet received the October issue of the paper. Why we mailed it the night of October 19th. There was a bad tie up at the print shop. Ed had taken his holidays the week before and you know how they take on work up there much beyond their capacity to handle it. Surely Bill must have had the bundles at his house when you wrote your last letter October 28.

I intended to write you Barry about some changes that I felt it necessary to make in the CCL article...none of which I hope were as precious as the sentences that I dropped from the colonial revolutions article. I made none on the column up until we came to the stone then I had to cut about 12 lines or so from either the column or the CCL article and I ~~dropped~~ decided that we could best afford to drop a paragraph from the column up near the lead. It was the paragraph that went "We have found a cohesiveness of perspective....." it had an element of internal character in it and I thought it could best go.

As for the CCL article. I thought that it was a top flight article. To anyone else I would stop there, to you I will say I think it was a trifle too heavily editorialized for an on the spot special to LC item. None of the changes I made I feel were important ones but nonetheless sufficiently important to justify changing. Here they are; I expanded the paragraph on how the fight developed around Baron abd the executive post. I thought it wasn't clear enough and needed more inofara - ation for our readers. Jean suggested a change in the 4th paragraph..it seems that Millard had resigned from the executive prior to the convention and the order of you sentence was adjusted to allow for this. ~~IX~~ That first change and a subsequent adjustment was made in part to correct a certain approach the article had to Baron. ~~XXXX~~ You said that Baron was not an elected but an appointed official. This is only half correct. He is an international vice-president of the TWUA, elected, and has the support of the bulk of the Cdn membership. Further down you talk about him being a red-baiter. That is true too but not all the truth. He is more a Stalino-phob. You know he looks upon himself as a bit of a revolutionary opposing the Stalin-ists for their counter-revolutionary role(Spain). You say, "To the majority it was clear that ~~Conroy~~ ~~Conroy~~ that very issue on which Conroy resigned made his resignation no loss to the Canadian labor movement." You may be right, after all you were there, but I have doubts that this statement is true, very strong doubts, so..... so as not to raise a matter of doubt which could serve no essential purpose I cut it.

"So perhaps Conroy has solved his own personal inflation problem..." I thought this had a certain element of pettiness in it. I have doubts about the actual properness of the sentence before, that ~~Conroy's walkout~~ Conroy's walkout was predicated on his knowledge that a well-heeled job as leader in UNW but left it. I personally don't like that kind of journalism...what do you think. I cut out the phrase that the Conroy crowd was "out to buy up delegates." To me this statement is really slanderous. I changed that part a about political action as a substitute for struggle. I see Murray questioned it and I think rightly too. I don't understand why you fellows didn't come to a settlement about it out there. I object to call that bastard Robert H Haddow "Bob". Next comes a change where I may well be wrong but I made it for if wrong no harm is done in my opinion and it seems a trifle clearer. "Mother, challenging "You can't make my face red" and quipping, after a struggle to get (the floor heard

I changed this to get heard as so far in the article "osher had chaired the assembly, of course he may well not have been chairman at this session but I think when you say get the floor you mean get heard as I cannot think that "osher would not get the floor from whoever was in the chair.. In the last paragraph I changed the rank and file who built it to the rank and file who should control it. Jean wanted this change in particular. Perhaps he is a little over sensitive

Glancing over the copy I see that I forgot to tell you of another change made in the column. I took out "After working for a while on the harvest that will probably never be touched by human mouths, we headed our gritty little '39 Dodge for the Foothills" A good picture but I felt that it might tend to put us in a poor light to our readers...that a national tour had to come to a halt to work on the crops to raise a few dollars. ~~That is a very good picture~~ BS took strong exception to "A salute to Labor Challenge—may its clear voice continue to grow louder as the drums of war and chaos reach crescendo."

Re your comments on the last issue. Yes it must have been good for OCFers we got a good response from our mailing to Sask. I didn't like the word vistas either but just couldn't seem to work that head---heads are one thing ~~where~~ you need more than one head at work. The second edit and its grammatical confusion. ~~James Smith~~ why who of course.... I wrote it. I don't know what you mean by grammatical confusion although I know that it is a poor edit, hasn't got a clear line. When I came to go over the material I found that there were a lot of facts missing and I had to work my way around. The same old trouble with Left Jobs I see. What's wrong with Fisher saying there would be less trouble in the world if people understood each other better...you ask. Well I would immediately reply look a few lines higher and you will see he calls ~~for~~ athiests worse than murderers..not much of an attempt on his part to understand each other better. You are right of course that we should attempt to keep ~~this column~~ this column simple. Will do my best

We discussed your proposal for an article on taxes and the escalator clause but for some reason it got squeezed out. Will take it up in this issue.

What have you in mind for this issue.? Were you thinking of writing the column again or letting it ride this time. ~~What~~ Perhaps we could write up something on the debate with Stanley Park or the one with the Science Forum. Any important news breaking in B.C. Must renew our sub to the Pacific Tribune. We just didn't have the dough a month or so back when it expired. Let me know what you have in mind just as soon as you can.

Are we going to be able to go over to the Island. I myself think that it is very important that we should see what can be done there. Alex Low of Nanaimo sent in a dollar to the financial drive. I would appreciate it if you would let me know what your plans are now. Hugh is getting very impatient about our arrival in Windsor. I hope you are proving able to show Vancouver how to raise money for Labor Challenge outside the party. This would be a big achievement. How is the financial drive coming out there.?

Here are a few photos that Read asked me to send along. He is anxious to hear from you. It seems that he ruptured himself shroldy after you left and has been put out of action— an agonizing experience for a go-getter like him.

all the best

Ross

It is my opinion that the matter of money should be raised in some way with Vancouver. Last week Lil sent in \$75, a life saver. I know that they gave you some money gut aside from that we havent received a cent for many many months. They apparently do not have any conception of how desperate the situation is here at times. A month or so before they sent in the \$75 I would have given anything for \$35 of it which they probably had on hand. It would be good if we can regularize their contribution, no matter how small.

Nov 2, 1951 ✓

"indsor
Dear Hugh D.

Meant to write you long ago but the financial drive, the elections on top of the routine are taking up a lot of time.

Dont yet know when Murray will be arriving. Have had a couple of letters from them since but for some reason they never say just what plans they have . But my impression is that Murray is leaving any day now and may have even left by now. They are doing good work out there , they have already spoke at the Stanley Park CCF club and got an excellent reception. Dorothy Steeves has asked Barry to join the CCF. They did a hot job on the left ...exposing Rod Young's double talk. Last Sunday I think they spoke at the Socialist Party of Canada's forum. I gather that this forum has a fair attendance. Murray is working in the shipyards in North Vancouver. at 1.85 an hour. Barry wrote in a recent letter "incidentally Lyle Dotzert was very friendly—Jimmy Speal was particularly so, told me he was kicked out of the LFP during the war for opposing the no-strike policy. Asl Hugh if that is so. Said he would be a Trotskyist if we had more people to help him in the union. He's the guy that Mosher kicked out of the convention; he carried the Stalinist line in whole...."

Got your pile of clippings this morning and the letter you sent about the meeting on the 32 hour week.. Well "indsor must be a regular hot bed of politics now. Took a hasty glance over the clippings and noticed the one on Burt...he must have burned when he saw that column by Harrásán. How are the campaigns going..will the ~~CCC~~ CCF take the seats. Reaume's candidature is certainly a lesson for the Autoworkers and the CCF..after supporting him in municipal politics for so long. It couldn't have happend better for the education of the "indsor working class if it had been planned. I would imagine that his candidature and his demagogy will force the CCF to take a more principled ~~marxist~~ line this campaign. The campaigns here are only now opening up. I was out last night helping Dick canvass an area that he took on. Met an excellent type of worker whom I will call back on when the campaign is over. I am sure we can sell him a suby ~~to~~ the paper and possibly get him down to the headquarters. Ken has met two good types in the St. Paul club campaign. The PAC's havent really got going here yet. There have been no joint constituency club and PaC committees set up although of course the unions are supplying dough on a fair scale and the staff's of many unions are working. Trying to get Roe to push things at Packing-house. Grenier will probably be working full-time. Conquergood who is Educational director of the CCL has taken over the North York campaign and took Grenier in with him. He felt it necessary it appears to tell the election committee of Grenier's politics, I suppose he was afraid that in the process of the campaign they would get known and he would not want to be in the position of one who sneaked one of us over on a constituency campaign. The election committee was glad to have him politics and all. Grenier went up for the first time last night and met an interesting fellow, a member of the Communication Workers Union.

I see the Stalinists are running Prince. Really discrediting themselves through a similar campaign against Jolliffe...that Penner guy is running . It is what they call a unity campaign. They will be lucky to get one hundred votes. No one is paying attention to them. I wouldn't be suprised to see them lose one of their two seats here.

I suppose the election to-do has taken all the attention from other union problems.

Anything new on the unemployment front? Too bad the 32 hour week was ditched. You can certainly trust the Stalinists to alienate genuine opposition tendencies to the leadership. Are the Ford and other unemployed being taken up by other outfits or is there still that mass of unemployed in Windsor. I am wondering what this means for Murray. Of course he is too room help isn't he.

What is new on the financial front. The Toronto campaign is going well internally but we haven't got very far with the outside work yet. Vancouver reports that their drive is underway but we haven't received anything yet. We are going to have a hard time making the quota...as I said in the circular letter it is a couple of hundred dollars more than we raised last year. I recall you saying that Dan told you he would not be able to come across until the New Year. In that case I think he had better make a pledge and we will count it in on the drive. Is Kitching good for anything this time...I suppose he has been working steadily. Would you send him what you have as soon as you can as I would like a fair report for the coming issue of the paper.

Things are going pretty well at the Dowsch household. The old lady is looking and apparently feeling much better. She is now investigating the idea of turning the upstairs into an apartment as we will not be able to handle the cost of the place with Lois gone. The old man has been finally liberated from his books etc. They tore the building down from over his head and under his feet. They warned him time and time again and finally took the roof off him. The bulk of the stuff he sold for paper scrap took the rest he stored. Met him the day following his eviction and gave him \$15. He promptly gets a hotel room after I tried to get him to get a room in a rooming house. He was angling hard to come back to 225 but we all stood firm. It would be the death of the old lady as she will not desist from her continual attempts to reform him. If she would leave him alone we could probably get used to and ignore his bull-shit. I don't know where he is now. I was speaking to him over the phone and told him I had some dough with which to go out with him and get a room but he wanted me to send it to him via mail. Standing pat hoping that he will either pull away or let us get him a room the rent of which we will pay. He is bugging the old lady about cashing the insurance policy that she has been paying. She is worried but she would be worse if he was there.

Have been expecting that list of books from you. I have written the educational committee of the UAW at Detroit asking them for any lists they recommend but haven't had time to get a reply yet. The headquarters is now finished..I think completely. We are accumulating the stock for the store and I think we will open up next Saturday. We have held back as we thought our stock wasn't sufficient...but I have managed to buy a bit at a time with the Toronto financial drive. I think it is going to be a good thing alright

Do you have any thing in mind that you would like to write up for this issue or have me write up. I was thinking of doing a bit of a job on the moving of the Ford plant..how capitalism ruthlessly ignores the workers..how there can't be any reason and planning under capitalism..what do you think.

all the best

Ross

November 2, 1951 ✓

Windsor

Grenier = J-M Bidard

Dear Gang;

What's new. Have been hoping to hear ~~xxx~~ from you for a long time.

Things must be hopping in Windsor from what we read in the press. I see Reaume is doing us a big favor by clearing the air about what he is. No doubt the coming election is shoving everything aside. Did you manage to get to the Assumption college meeting? I would imagine the campaign will be a bit leftist, the OCF Watson, Burt and coy having to move that way to undercut the demagoguery of Reaume. It looks from here that we can now expect to see political lines a little more clearly drawn in that mighty city than they have been in the past what with Croll, Martin Reaume etc.

I hope we are able to squeeze time to ^{throw} through ourselves into the campaign. It is a good experience and no doubt we will meet some good elements. We are up to our necks here in Toronto. Grenier has been accepted inot playing a big part in the North York campaign. Ironically the fellow who he is working for is the organizer of the AFL union that we just shoved out of Wirebound. They know what Grenier is and were none the less very happy to take him into the election committee. Ed is working with him there. Ken has come across a couple of good types in his riding through working at the committee rooms. I went out with Dick last night canvassing and came across an excellent type who we will have to get a sub from shrotly. The PAC's aren't moving yet other than to vote money to the drive. Unfortunately the various locals have their members scattered across the whole face of the city and it is hard to co-ordinate local PAC's with constituency clubs. In Niagara etc ~~thxxx~~ it has been easy to integrate the PAC's with the constituency clubs as there are few plants in those towns and the bulk of the workers live nearby the plant. Joyce is going to try out the local OCF candidates suggestion that she hold an afternoon tea at her house. She is going to send a little note to her neighbours and invite them over. She lives in a good block and we might turn up some good housewife that Joyce could work on.

Aside from that we are trying to work on our very important financial drive. How is it coming there. Hope you can let me know how things stand in a few days with Kitching, Shust, Morris etc. I think Hugh told me Don that you would be unable to send in any cash at this time due to household and car expenses. How would you like to make a pledge. We are going to have a tough time making our quota as it is. You know it is several hundred dollars more than last years. If we could count in your pledge as cash recieved and you make it up say after the New Year that would be very good for the drive. We are doing well here internally so far..been a little slow on the outside but we are moving now.

Gave a little slap at the Stalinists the other night. Dick and I covered their civil rights convention. The Tribune says there were 800 odd there. Well we were able to distribute about 125 papers and nearly everyone took a copy. I would say they had no more than 200 nyway. Got a sub the next day from the distribution and a poison pen letter which was apprisingly mild. Got a terrific result from our mailing of the Sask Convention report issue to names and addresses we have in Saskatchewan. We must have mailed about 200 odd copies and picked up 6 subs.

Havn't any word for you yet on what I know you are most anxious to hear about. Murray and Barry are strangely silent about their plans. But my impression is that Murray will be leaving anyway now, possibly Barry will stay there for the winter. How is the job situation in Windsor for an old bald headed tool and die maker. I see Toronto suburbs are going to be the auto center of Canada. Poor Windsor. You will all have to move

to our town.

Now about wiring me a letter occasionally letting me know what you are all doing and thinking. I have an excuse. I am here in the office by myself and we have only now managed to put the finishing touches on the headquarters. Wait till you see our bookstore. We will be opening it with a flourish next week. We have some of the best radical novels, we are handling the Sask and BC CCF paper have copies of the Bevan left wing manifesto. The only thing we are weak on is union material but I gather you Hugh will be sending me a list of stuff that we should have in this line.

When are you coming in to see us?

warmest regards

Ross

December 3, 1951 ✓

Dear Barry;

It looks like this will be my last letter for awhile as I must really get to work on the paper, spend some time on my speech for this Friday night and polish off my work on the financial drive.and I guess I owe it to you.

Odd how things have gone isn't it, even amusing. Here I thought that the tour would knit together the PC and NC and we seem to have got temporarily further apart. I thought in some of our more recent correspondence that you would make some mention of my letter and your reply. Sometime when you return we will have to talk about it. Obviously my letter was a terrible error. I will say nothing except to protest one of your reactions to it...that I have no confidence in you and Murray. This I protest and deny. The second thing I would like to say is that as a diagnostician you may be an expert but the medicine you prescribed on this occasion was far from satisfactory. You made me violently ill for several days and I must say I have not yet recovered...that old whipping boy, the Dowson personality. I am really quite a frail flower.

Very glad to get your letter of the 27th. I hope you will be able to find ~~time~~ time to write more often. It looks like I got you in a bit of a spot over this fraction voting question. I don't know what my letter explaining the situation led to say but apparently it was misleading. I myself am convinced that the whole question as it is posed in our branch is absurd. Stein doesn't talk about it in the abstract nor can we. At the very beginning of the discussion here I even conceded that SWP caucus' may be run the way some comrades think they do. My position was that I didn't know and that I wasn't too concerned either, although apparently my letter did not give you that impression. Here we are not ^{dealing} dealing with fractions in the accepted meaning of the word. We ~~xxx~~ have only one concentration and we are trying to get several comrades into the union movement. We want to get them down to the meeting, to teach them, encourage them, to unify the party, and here some comrades raise the matter of who is going to get the vote. ~~Amalgamated~~ This defeats the whole purpose of the "caucus." And the absurdity of it is revealed as I tried to report it in the minutes is that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Grenier and Grenier only will vote on IWA, that Myer and Myer only will vote on Amalgamated, and so on. Everyone there can talk themselves blue in the face then Myer can say nuts. To my mind this can't be a policy body because there can be ^(no) responsibility. I told the packinghouse comrades that they can meet any time they like the have a free reign, they exist as a ~~xxx~~ fraction. If a question of voting power is even involved here who can object that they and they alone vote...until a branch meeting. Even here with these three comrades only a fool would force through a vote on some contentious question when we have a functioning executive and a branch that meets every week. In itself it is a matter of no great moment...except that it defeats its own purpose...and ties us up in legalistic knots.

R

I see that to some considerable extent your opinions expressed in the 26th minutes are based on what ~~amalgamated~~ you think the situation is in the Toronto branch. I don't know what information you have other than the odd letter I have been able to squeeze out to you. If my information is the only bit available I have given you a wrong impression. Probably I have emphasized the better things in the branch, and this would be correct as of course we want this atmosphere and orientation to prevail. I am looking forward to the redraft of the Political Resolution. Joyce is expecting big revisions. Joe did practically nothing in the packinghouse PAC all before and during the elections. ~~Whole~~ Whole line is defeatist. At one of the branch meetings I asked him what did he see our next steps were following a public meeting for the candidates and he just clammed up. There was silence for about a minute which seemed like an hour and I moved we proceed. Of course I didn't say anything about this or Bill's comment when I said that it was highly doubtful if we could get anything following the election to ourselves as an independent party that the idea of working as an independent party and gathering a cadre that could enter had been put into the PR as w

dow dressing. No I told you about Jimmy. But really Jimmy is only a part and a small part of the picture. I greatly fear that you have a totally wrong picture of how the whole thing developed, how the executive handled the matter, that it was well on the way to resolution

I am rather suprised by item 11 in the minutes Barry. You say "We are convinced that Reed is also in agreement with this general line and we do not believe his hands should be tied in this specific case." I wish it hadn't been written like that. And it goes on "The PC should take into consideration these obvious local factors..." A comrade asks the PC an opinion, the PC discusses it in detail, gives the comrade the line, and of course I write a letter in much more detail, the comrade agrees, in fact says that this is the line he has taken and then he gets this. This would be very good if the comrade expressed some doubts about the PC advised line and we needed further discussion but at this stage it seems to me to only lead to confusion.

I am sorry to say that I do not believe that Reed understand the line at all. He's running around like a chicken with his head cut off. I am convinced that we have to get him out of Trail. I am afraid we might lose him because he doesn't in my opinion know where he is going and the pictures that he gives of the situation is so confused and in my mind contradictory that we are unable to give him the leadership he needs and he wants us to give him.

What gives on this Trotsky scholl proposal. Can we afford to have Reg away from the Vancouver branch for the 6 or how many months it takes. I assume that you would be back here...for if you were not or some other arrangement the character of which has not been hinted at so far isn't made I do not see how we could possibly send me down. The whole thing is up in the air..of the financial aid of the "American friends there can be no doubt ?????? I dont know how the PC is expected to deal with this question, after all it is a practical one, there is no purpose in just recording our favor of it and if we are to write our friends we have to be in a position to talk ~~talky~~ in the concrete.

A youth....instead of something inspiring, it becomes a stigma for you. But I am sure you will be able to overcome this "tragedy." I have long known that Vancouver has no know-how...I am sure that you will be able to display your wares to great effect You say nothing in your impressions of the branch about Court. He impressed me very favorably, as a comrade well worth ~~sting~~ spending considerable time on .

Much as I regret to do so I fear I must tell you we do not get the B.C. Lumberworker's The IWA office has refused to send it to us, not with a formal note but by ignoring ours. I have told Reg this several times and for a while when there was something important breaking he mailed a copy to us here. Yes, I think it would be a good thing to mail sample copies. Can you make some arrangement to get it sent our way.

Incidentally the proposal that Van voted on holding business meetings once a month and the rest educational came up here shortly after you left. It was proposed by the executive with only Ken's opposition and we got rid of it by deferring it. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I have been strongly attempted to send out another letter on the financial drive playing up the raising of money outside the party but with you there I figured it was not at all necessary. The response I am getting from my list here is about the same as last year, as a matter of fact we picked up some money from a few who previous didn't come across. I havent got to clear a picture of how the other comrades are doing but my impression is not too favorable. Bill took over the campaign on my ~~waging~~ private urging after the executive struck off Ed who promptly commenced to drown. Hard to say how we are going to come out here. Ed and Myer came across in a grand style as usual but Doug pledged only \$2 and Jim and Kit nil. Windsor is going to be as good as usual., although we may be a trifle slow in getting the actual cash. I have written Louis and Ken in Montreal for two hundred dollars

Incidentally it might be a good idea if you have time to drop Joe a line. He is

quite ill. He has an attack of colitis which can be quite serious...as a matter of fact a girl who used to live across from our place died from it after a lingering illness of 10 to 12 years. I don't know how serious Joe's case is but he has stayed off work now for three or four days and is running a fever. I don't know how you feel about it but I think it might be a good idea

Does the G. Whitney you enquire about live at 618 Agnes, New Westminster. If it is he should be getting his sub alright, the plate is in good order

What the hell does *sont-la* mean? You had better stick to English or to German..I know that I don't know German at all so it is a much safer field for you. Glad you liked the November issue. Which brings me to your question about Dick Ken and Joe contributions in the previous issue. Dick can write. Both of his last two contributions unlike the first one on the Garson amendments are his, with just a few minor changes. It is hard to squeeze it out of him but he knows how to handle ideas and present them quite simply and lucidly. The thing wrong is that he is a man of few words, he is conservative. He is not intellectually curious and skips things that might present a little difficulty. I tried to convince him for the last article on the colonial revolution that he should deal with the question whether nationalism is progressive or not today. Many of the CCFers do not understand the revolutionary character of the national question..they pose as super-internationalists..Steeves and Snowsall in a couple of columns and for this super international position reject support of the colonial revolution as merely a manipulation of the effendi and rising bourgeois. I had a long talk with him about it. suggests some material he should read but he just ignored it all. I remember the terrific research that goes into your articles, the education that you made them for yourself and so I am disappointed but none the less he can obviously write. I don't know whether he actually likes to or not. He reads a lot of short stories and if I have any impression he preferred the story on Goodwin to the article on the colonial struggles. About two weeks ago I turned over the project of the Rail Rebellion to him. As of Saturday when I last saw him I don't think he had touched it but I think that that is the material he would like. A very nice guy but hard to get to know. He hates arguments, is shy of people. But I am working on him. Ken I am afraid just can't write. In that CCF article there are of course slabs of his. and this effort marked a big stride forward for him but he is so goddam rigid and finds great difficulty explaining his own ideas. Haven't given up of course but it takes considerable time to rewrite with a person and the question is such a ticklish one in personal relations. I am trying to get him to write up the meaning of the Ontario election and our orientation for the internal bulletin right now.

Joe's article on the BLF is as he wrote it. I purposely didn't touch it. I am tired of the personal bullshit and resolved when he asked to write it that I would not touch it unless there was some gross political mistake in it. ~~When he handed it in it was exactly twice as long as the assignment, even more. He had big slabs in it that polemized Dorothy Thompson, Palmer Roper, the CCF News and so on. As I recall the line of them was generally that Bevanism doesn't represent anything progressive. I just told him in a most comradely way that it was much too long that while the assignment was 4 pages we were ok for 7 and he would have to cut about 4 pages off and I suggested these. The resulting article while generally politically good is in my mind I hope an unprejudiced one, a very poor article, one of the poorest every to appear in LC. That paragraph right opposite the Churchill cut for instance where he says that Bevan's program is in no way fundamentally opposed to that of Attlee's is rather ridiculous for as he enumerates them they build up to a fundamental difference...at any rate he doesn't say what a fundamental difference would be...just "its clear" This is a political error but I thought that it straightens itself out with subsequent remarks and could afford to let it go. It is written in a style which is never used in our press, very professorial on the one hand, and on the other hand...etc. However scattered all through it, obviously misused. He doesn't know words at all...a war would be "repugnant." I left it all except taking out a few however with the idea that we could have a good discussion after with both him and Ken about writing for the paper. I got Ed to go over both the articles and prepare a class. Joe agreed to get together to discuss the two contributions but when the day arrived didn't put in an appearance. After waiting for an hour we got a call from him and he just made the bald statement that he did not intend to come down. We had a good talk with~~

Ken . Nothing has since been said about this whole matter by anyone.

Bill wrote the column Let's look at the States by Jim Sproule. He wants to write a regular column and I am agreed. I think it is a pretty good job. He can write and he has a really comradely attitude towards criticisms and suggestions. He even comes across at the deadline unlike the other three

Took your advise last Saturday night. Kept the bookstore open till nine and then took in Seven Hours at Noon. An excellent picture acting, theme settings etc. I dont think it makes out a very good case that the scientist is insane and not the government

Glad to hear that you managed to visit Seattle. Dont know Dan except that the Buf falo comrades don't think much of him. But what does that mena. Vinc came up here for the Russian Revolution meeting. We could ill afford it but after the whole bunch boycotted the Trotsky Memorial meeting, did I tell you that only Ken, Jean, Myer turned up with Gord, Lois, Paddy, Pete Fedor, we brought him in. Vinc did a very poor job. Wandered all over the map, completely defeatist as far as the fight against the war is concerned, even under Bill's prompting didn't even pose our transitional demands. Generally a good analysis of the class forces in the US particularly the conflict in the top ranks of the bourgeoisie...but the rest was so bad I felt it necessary to give a 10 minute talk on the fight against war in Canada, the possibilities and the slogans. I was very hesitant but everyone agreed at the next branch meeting that it was good and necessary.

What kind of crowd did ~~Schachman~~ Shachtman getwho did he get. Have we got a an opposition out there in Vancouver. And while I think of it I would like to know if you can find the time to tell me , what kind of discussion on the paper does the branch have.

Sorry to hear that you lost your job. Are you still in your light housekeeping room. If you are why not send me your address and the name you are using. I am not too fussy about sending letters to Reg's place which obviously must discuss party matters but are not for his eyes. It must create a little feeling of uneasiness. And what do you think of the idea of getting them to write up the minutes of your NC get togethers. You know we have had no correspondence from Vancouver since some months prior to the convention and it would be good if Bill or Reg got into the habit again of handling Vancouver to the N.O. correspondence

Did you receive the copy of Fontamara that I sent you. I hope you enjoy it as much as I did. Very happy to hear that you are enjoying yourself as never before.

Ross

Lot's more but I really must get to work on the paper. I may be delayed in answering our next letter.

December 4, 1951

Windsor
Dear Comrades

Just a hurried note before I am forced to bury myself in the putting out of the paper

Received the dough just in time to give the wolf that has been prowling around our door for sometime a hefty kick in the slats. It is good to hear the Matt is going to come through so well. I see from this morning's paper that things are beginning to move on a big scale there in Windsor once again. Hugh should be whipping in that back pay any day as they bring Ford to heel. We are doing fairly well here with the drive although we were badly held up by work in the CCF election campaign. Vancouver has extended its drive till the 11th I think it is. With a couple of breaks we could make our objective, that is of course counting Joan and Don's very fine pledge. Our bookstore has held me back somewhat from devoting the time I should to the financial drive.

Incidentally the store is coming along fairly well. No big sales or contacts but it is going to take a while to make it known in the radical bookbuying circles but it is moving. Today I sold a copy of the Leon book to a left Zionist. The day before a fellow who thought we were a Stalinist bookstore dropped in and I sold him a couple of copies of our paper. It turned out through the discussion I had with him that he had been president of the milk drivers union. Not very political type of Stalinist, a militant but now running a small business. Do any of you contemplate in giving any gifts this Christmas, that heathen ritual. nothing like giving a book. We have all kinds, with varying degrees of political import. And some of them we have picked up damn cheap.

Yes the elections were a disappointment. The reactions in Windsor must be very interesting. We are holding a public meeting to see if we can some of the next best elements who are no doubt wondering what it is all about to come closer to us. I guess we called the shot in that editorial in the last issue alright eh. Of course the defeat is a set back for the whole labor movement but all the comrades here, who did a very good job in the elections although we didn't manage to get honoured with arrest for breaking any poster hanging by-laws, feel that there is a more critical atmosphere going to develop in the clubs. Jolliffe's and the bureaucrats who claimed to have found a slick opportunist way to deliver the vote are not going to put the figure that they have in the past. Their role is going to be open to more questioning. The discussion that is supposed to take place in all the clubs around the new programmatic statement that is replacing the Regina Manifesto should give us a good opening and a good idea as to the reaction of the CCF rank and file to the Coldwell political opportunism.

We are writing a lengthy analysis of the election in the next issue. I wonder if you feel that there is any particular material of interest around the UAW PAC work in Windsor that should be written up or go into this article. Would you let me know as soon as possible. Also if ~~thamam~~ you could handle a short snappy news article on the Ford situation.

By now you will know by the mere fact that we didn't get in that we didn't run anyone in the Toronto campaign. Just don't have the forces with Barry gone, not to speak of the dough. It was a dead campaign anyway, coming so close to the provincial one.... sour grapes eh. Well anyway without us in it it was dead. The CCF's Ford Brand got in on Board of Control. Smith, the LPP's vote dropped again and its looks to me that they are through for the next period at anyrate.

Glad to hear that you made such a good contact during the election campaign. Have

you Hugh been accepted yet. What are the odds. We made some good contact. Jim and Kit have been asked by Ramon Parks and his wife to take over a bunch of youth they are in contact and educate them of all things in Marxism. Parks' wife is an ex-Stalinist and she urged that it be left of the BLP brand of Marxism. Have a letter on the desk from a fellow Wes McCulloch with a two dollar bill for the drive and congratulations for "the damn good job " we are doing with Labor Challenge. It seems that he was the CCF candidate in Cumberland, near Ottawa. He says he is anxious to meet us and will be coming into Toronto this summer.or spring.

But I must stop

Enclosing a set of photos of the old place for your archives there in Windsor.

warmest regards

Ross.

* (R.D. resignation)

Sunday December 23, 1951

Dear Barry;

And a Merry Christmas to you. It is very white down here. We had three terrific storms in a row. Ied the city up in knots. All very beautiful but it is now taking on that filthy churned over look that makes you wish it were all gone. It has been quite cold, going down below zero on several occasions. Dick has been grouching and grumbling and I wouldn't be at all suprised to find him in Vancouver one of these days. My only complaint is that the snow came and mucked up Grenadier Pond before I could get my annual skate on it

Sorry to have been so derelict in my duty of keeping you inofarmed about the Jean-Loi affair. On Friday afternoon the Dowson family along with my mother's sisters' family married Lois off to Jean. As usual I was best man. After going through the civil marriage we retured to the Dowson maison for a terrific meal and a pleasant chat session over Apricot brandy, Portuguese Port, Rye, Vermouth, etc. Jean-Lois are now ensconced in a very pleasant apartment, tastefully ~~decorated~~ furnished, at 1075A College Street, near Dufferin. They have a very spacious living room with a chesterfield that opens into a bed that will be at your disposal any time you feel inclined to utilize it. The branch gave them a toaster. I understand they are going to hold a little get together for the comrade as soon as they get settled down. They were compelled to move into their new abode on the same day as the marriage so it will take them a while to get strightened out.

However I must bring this lighter aspect of our corres ondence to a close. I am squzing t is letter out now not so much as an answer to your last one to to explian to you one aspect of the minutes of the PC which you will have received shortly before this. Even here I am going to have to be short for I have all the tables out in the big room I littered with clippings. I have not been able to file any all the time you have been gone from us and you can imagine the pile, since Ray I gueses for you will rmember we had to let it slip when we were fixing the headquarters and moving into it. There is a meeting here tonight and I will have to get at least some of it out of the way.

Of course I am referring to my resignation as national secretary. How much to explia to you I do not know. Some three weeks ago I sat down and wrote you a long letter tellin you that I thought we should majke such a change but I did not send it. Why I did not send it I am not too sure, probably many reasons which we need not go into now. To a grea extent I am relieved of going into this as one of the first things Murray had to say to me upon his arrival was that we should make the change envisaged. He also told me that yo had completely re-evaluated the dispute in the branch following the convention. I of course felt this to be true before you left. Prior to your leafing I had hoped that we would be able to talk things over but we seemd to be u able to get together. I was conviced of this from your correspondence about the ~~third~~ week of the trip we should make

I gather from Murray that you envisaged ~~making~~ the change by suggesting that I go to Windsor ~~without making any~~ in a position of going to the next session of the Trotsky school. Possibly this may have been the nicest way to make the change. However I have some assistance to it. I think we are old enough and mature enough to face one another ..and I am sure that it will not be to the expense of the party. My impression is that the party is well prepared for such a change, indeed some sections looking forward to it. At anyrate the question has to be separated for reason of the pure mechanics of it. Last month Hugh wrote me a personal letter telling me that he was more or less convinced that he wanted to leave Windsor, that he had no personal life there etc. I stalled him until we could talk i overat Christmas. The question is then raised are we even going to send anyone to Windsorand if so when? The plan was as you know that Murray would leave for Windsor immediately upon his return. Can we make the simple transposition from Murray to Ross

I am afraid I must say that I do not think we can. I say this not to build myself up or to belittle Murray. I think I speak from a long observation which at least at moments has reached objectivity when I say I do not think Murray can handle this job here by himself. I do not believe that I could go to Windsor next week and Murray handle the responsibilities of the N.O. I think you underestimate your own importance to our party. The decision that you remain in Vancouver was a big decision in my opinion. I said nothing because I am sure you are aware of it, at what cost it is made to the work here and secondly I ~~thought~~ the experience would be very valuable for you, your own political development and I knew that personally you desired it, that too is a big thing. I am convinced that you must be here to help Murray ~~xxxx~~ when Murray assumes the responsibilities of national secretary. I mention your importance because I doubt how long I could carry on without you aid.

I think I can say that the interests of the party as I see it do not permit us to make the simple switch. I told Murray that I too was in favor of making the change but that I do not feel that the party has the right to ask anyone to take on what this job demands of them....certainly not at this ~~historical~~ historic juncture. I told him that I wish him to take on the responsibilities of national secretary immediately but that I should remain here until your return. Murray needs some guidance also for the settling of his relations with Jeanette. Does Murray wish to make a decisive break with Jeanette. I am not too sure. To work full time for the party (\$20 a week) would be a big factor in settling the matter. We have to leave him an out. I told him I think he should be national secretary but we cannot afford to pay him more than \$20 or at least little more, therefore I proposed that he should return to Toronto, work at his trade and that you should be the full time worker. He expressed the opinion that you might find that an unsatisfactory relationship...you do most of the work and he putting his name to it....but I brushed that aside. An aside—I think that he has considerable respect for you and has a good relationship with you.

So this is more or less the way it now stands. He is in Montreal settling his personal affairs. He left with the understanding that he would be national secretary upon his return. What arrangements we would make to meet Windsor's problem and the handling of the work at the N.O. to be decided later.

On Saturday I received a letter from Murray in which he says; "I have had a discussion with Jeanette regarding moving to Toronto. She is quite willing to go providing I work at my trade but doesn't take too kindly at present to trying to get a long on \$20 from me and working herself. Anyway she wants me to stay here at least till we sell the furniture. That will probably mean until the first of February at least, as of course things are and will be quite until after the New Year's holiday." He asked me to send his tools so that he can work until they straighten things up. As you know he is broke.

I see that this has taken me longer than I had contemplated. I must close it off so I can clear away some of the filing. Will try to write you longer in a couple of days. Glad to hear you quit that job at the elevator, look after yourself

~~XX~~

Ross

We have a few spare dollars around here which you should not hesitate to call on you know.

62 Elm Street
Toronto 2, Ont.

Life
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Letters to the Editor

Sir;

General Orlov's revelations on the Moscow Trials were extremely interesting and a complete vindication of the enquiry conducted by the late eminent U.S. philosopher John Dewey. Perhaps General Orlov has an equally interesting story to tell on the role of the GPU in Spain in the '30s.

Jesus Hernandez, leader of the Spanish Communist Party and a cabinet minister of the Popular Front Government during the Spanish Civil War has just published a book in Mexico entitled YO FUI UN MINISTRO DE STALIN , "I was a Minister of Stalin." He mentions an Orlov, head of the GPU in Spain, as the person who ordered the imprisonment and murder of Andres Nin, a former secretary of Leon Trotsky and the leader of the antiStalinist Workers Party of Marxist Unification(POUM). The GPU attempted to make Nin "confess" to being a Franco agent in the style of the Moscow "confession" trials, and failing, ended up murdering him.

Hernandez also states that the GPU, headed by the same Orlov, was on the point of assassinating Prieto, then minister of defence and later premier. The murder was to appear as a motor accident but the GPU was overruled by the Political Bureau of the Spanish Communist Party for political reasons.

Is Hernandez's Orlov General Orlov who states that he was in Spain in this period?

sincerely .

Ross Dowson